

THE  
*Unreasonableness of Separation :*  
The Second Part.

OR,  
A further Impartial ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
History, Nature, and Pleas  
Of the  
PRESENT SEPARATION  
From the Communion of the  
Church of *ENGLAND*.

Begun by  
*EDW. STILLINGFLEET D.D.*  
Dean of St. *PAULS*.

Continued from 1640. to 1681.

With special Remarks on the Life and Actions of  
*Mr. RICHARD BAXTER.*

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Matth. 7. 16. *Ye shall know them by their fruits: Do men gather grapes of Thorns? or figs of thistles?* [D. Long]

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*Duplicate Am. Squares*



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A  
P R E F A C E

Concerning the  
Power of Prejudice.

**I***t is a Caution necessary to be observed by all Christians, which St. Paul gives us, 1 Cor. 3. 21. Not to glory in men; (i. e.) not to prefer the Parts or professed Piety of some men, so as to contemn or despise the Ministry of others. The reason of which he gives us, vers. 4. For while one says, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollo, are ye not (i. e. ye are) carnal? This partiality begets Envyng, Strife, and Divisions; which are the works of the flesh: And this Prejudice causeth men to be puffed up for one against another, chap. 4. 6. as the Corinthians were on behalf of false Teachers, to an opposition of the Apostles themselves. This St. Jude observes to have been the fault of the Gnostick-Disciples, who had the persons of Seducers in admiration,*

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because of advantage ; ( viz. ) *the liberty, impunity, and temporal accommodations which were permitted and promised by them.* And by such means St. Paul observes , that his Galatians, chap. 3. 1. were so bewitched, that they obeyed not the truth. And Tertullian deservedly chides the Christians in his age : An ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas? De Præscript. c. 3. Do we approve of the Faith by the persons of men, or of their persons by the Faith? *The Faith once delivered to the Saints, should always be the Rule by which we judge of the Ministry of men.* Though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, let him be accursed, Gal. 1. 8. *There are many false Teachers that transform themselves into Angels of light, and mix some precious Truths with their damnable Errours. But if they teach any thing for Doctrine contrary to the Word of God, any Doctrine that tends to Impiety, Disobedience, or Divisions, it is our duty to reject, and withhold Communion from them, be their parts never so excellent; and their pretences never so plausible; lest it fares with us as with those silly Larks, who being first taken with the glitterings of the Glass, do play so long about it, till they are also taken in the Net to their destruction.*

*For being once dogmatized and captivated by*  
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men of ill principles, it will prove a matter of great difficulty to extricate our selves. If we consider how rare a thing it is for men of great Learning, and perhaps of good Conscience too, to deliver themselves from those Snares in which by Education and Custom, by Prepossession and carnal Prejudices, they have been involved: whereof St. Paul himself, being bred up as a Pharisee, may be an instance; for whose Conversion no less than a Miracle was thought sufficient.

And no other account can be given, why so many learned men in the Church of Rome do, against Scripture, Reason, and Sense, believe and defend such gross Errors as they generally do, but the tyranny of Prejudice and Education: for, quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testis diu. The ways which we are trained up in from our youth, we will not depart from when we are old: For, as Justin Martyr

observed, Custom having once got the advantage of long continuance, insinuates Errors and

Non Ratione componimur, sed consuetudine. Senec. Epist. 123.

Impostures into the minds of men, under the notion and representation of Truth; and some men have told lyes so long, that at last they have believed them to be truths. And Scripture it self doth intimate that it is morally as impossible for a man to learn to do well, that hath been accustomed to do evil, as for an Ethiopian to change

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change his skin, or a Leopard his spots. *And Origen affirms, that of all Customs, those  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\tau\alpha$   $\delta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ , concerning opinions and matters of Doctrine, are most prevalent: for when other Advantages do conspire with our received Opinions, facile credimus quod maxime volumus; and our religious Opinions being riveted into our minds by the weighty Arguments of temporal and eternal Happiness, it must be a power above that of Nature to vindicate us from the Captivity.*

*Now suppose that I had made this discourse to a Papist, you cannot but think it reasonable that he should, in a matter of so great concern as his Salvation, make diligent inquiry whether the Principles in which he hath been instructed from his youth, be agreeable to the Rules of Godliness revealed in the Holy SS. and whether he ought to believe and practise all things which the Doctors of that Church require of him, particularly concerning the Infallibility and Supremacy of the Pope, the giving of Divine Worship to consecrated Wafers, to Saints and Images; or concerning Prayers to Saints, and for the Dead, and that in an unknown Tongue, &c. And there is as great reason for such as have been educated under erroneous Parents, or Teachers in Heretical or Schismatical principles, notwithstanding their too great credulity and fond opinion of the persons and opinions of their Leaders, to have recourse*  
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to the Word of God, and search the Scriptures, whether the Dictates that they so tenaciously adhere unto, be agreeable to them or not. Amicus Socrates, Amicus Plato; sed magis Amica veritas. Let the persons be never so nearly related to us, and their Opinions never so well approved by us, yet if they be contrary to the revealed Will of God, we ought to reject them. And if this practice be necessary, as to the National Church wherein we are educated, (every one being bound to give a reason of the Hope that is in him, and not to give himself up to an implicate Faith, to believe as the Church doth believe) much more is it our duty in those parts of Religion wherein we differ from the established Profession, when it is oppugned by private persons, be they Parents or Teachers: for as it is probable that they may erre, so it may be justly suspected that they do erre, when they lead us into such Opinions and Practices as have been condemned by the generality of Christians from the most primitive and purest times of the Church; which they that do erre from, will most vigorously oppose, as knowing that if they should appeal to them, they will most certainly be condemned by them.

Of this sort are the Opinions and Practices of Mr. B. and many other Writers of this Age; and to know well the Authors of them, will  
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be a means to undeceive us, and set us right in our judgment of their Writings, who have caused the many Controversies and Confusions which have disturbed the peace and good order both of our Church and State. To which end I shall compose such a Character of the man and his Communication with whom I have now to do, as he hath in several Treatises left upon record; for the information of succeeding Ages, as well as for the undeceiving of the present.

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THE  
SECOND PART  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
Separation.

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CHAP. I.

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**M**R. B. hath started a Paradox concerning the beginning of our late Wars; which by his confident Assertion, without any Argument, he thinks his credulous Readers will believe: (*viz.*) That the War was begun between two Episcopal Parties, the one adhering to Archbishop Whitgift, and the other to Bishop Laud; and that the Parliament, the Army, and Assembly, consisted generally of such as were (he should have said, such as had been) Conformists. I shall not, to  
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disprove him, repeat what others have said, who refer the rise of it as far back as King *James*, in whose Reign the Parliaments were divided into *Regians* and *Republicans*, as *Wilson* reports; and tells you of many Disputes between Prerogative and Priviledge. There was a Party that perswaded that King and his Son to a War for recovery of the *Palatinate*; and having engaged them, denied them the assistance which was promised, intending to work upon their necessities. And where other Parliaments left, that of 1640 begun, as Mr. B. says.

The War was not founded in Theological differences, but Law-differences. Letter to Mr. *Hinckly*, p. 25. *The first open beginning was about the Militia*, says Mr. B. and how then did the Bishops begin it? The Commons wrested it from the King, and by one Order after another, seized his Forts and Magazines, the Tower of *London*, and his Navy: Had any of the Bishops a hand in this? They all did, and now do own, That the sole command and disposition of it is, and by the Laws of *England* ever was the undoubted Right of his Majesty; and that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot nor ought to pretend to the same. They were such Conformists who begun the War, as Mr. B. who taught, *That the Law that saith the King shall have the Militia, sup-*  
*poseth*



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poseth it to be against Enemies, and not against the Commonwealth, nor them that have a part in the Sovereignty; and to resist him here, is not to resist Power, but Usurpation and private Will. And where the Sovereignty is divided into several hands, as into King and Parliament, and the King invades the other part, they may lawfully defend their own by War, and the Subject lawfully assist them; yea, though the power of the Militia be expressly given to the King, unless it be also expressed that it shall not be in the other. H. C. W. Thef. 363.

Another beginning of the War was a Confederacy with the Scots, then in the bowels of the Nation, with whom the King was informed that some of the Parliament held Correspondence; (*viz.*) the five Members and *Kimbolton*; whom the Parliament and City protected from the hands of Justice, and procured and countenanced armed Tumults. Mr. B. makes an Objection, p. 474. of *H. C. W.* That Tumult at Westminster drove him (*i. e.* the King) away. Answ. Only by displeasing, not by endangering or meddling with him: though the King tells us otherwise in his Chapter of Tumults.

Mr. B. knows of another sort of five Members that began the War, who were no Episcopal men; I mean the *Smeethymnians*, who wrote so insolently and pedantickly against

that meek, pious, and learned Bishop *Hall*: And how *Isaac Pennington* brought a Petition of 15000 Londoners against Archbishops, Bishops, &c. which was seconded by the like from several Counties: And on *March 10. 1640.* a Bill is read in the House against Episcopacy, and their Vote in Parliament taken away, and many of them sent to the Tower for entering a Protest for their Priviledge. Did any of the Bishops call in the *Scots*? or promote the Covenant? or sit in the Assembly? who were chosen to that very end, that they might stir up the People to assist the Parliament against the King. Though all these things be left on Record, yet Mr. *B.* thinks by his bare authority to perswade the present and succeeding Generations, that the War was begun by Bishops, and carried on by a Parliament, an Army, and Assembly of Conformists.

Mr. *B.* will not say that Bishop *Hall* (whom he so frequently commends) had any hand in the beginning of our Wars; nor will he ever be able to perswade others, that what he hath written and publicly delivered as matter of fact in the beginning of our Troubles, is false. I therefore refer the Reader to that Treatise written with his own hand, *May 29. 1647.* having first given you part of a Speech delivered by this excellent Prelate in the

the House of Lords, p. 425. of his Remains,---  
*My Lords, It is a foul and dangerous insolence which is now complained of to you ( in the Petitions against Bishops ) but it is but one of an hundred of those which have of late been done to the Church and Government. The Church of England, as your Lordships cannot but know, hath been and is miserably infested on both sides; with Papists on one side, and Schismaticks on the other. The Psalmist hath of old distinguished the Enemies of the Church into wild Boars out of the Wood, and little Foxes out of Burroughs; the one whereof goes about to root up the very foundation of Religion, the other to crop the branches, and blossoms, and clusters thereof: both of them conspire the utter ruine and devastation of it. As for the former of them, I do perceive a great deal of good zeal for the remedy and suppression of them; and I do heartily congratulate it, and bless God for it, and beseech him to prosper it. But for the other, give me leave to say, I do not find many that are sensible of the danger of it, which yet in my apprehension is very great and apparent. Alas, my Lords, I beseech you to consider what it is, that there should be in London, and the Suburbs and Liberties, no fewer than fourscore Congregations of several Sectaries, as I have been credibly informed, instructed by Guides fit for them, Coblers, Taylors, Felt-makers, and such-like Trash; which*

all are taught to spit in the face of their Mother the Church of England, and desie and revile her Government. From hence have issued those dangerous assaults of our Church-governours; from hence that inundation of base and scurrilous Libel and Pamphlets wherewith we have been of late over-born, in which Papists and Prelates, like Oxen in a Toke, are still matched together. O, my Lords, I beseech you to be sensible of this great indignity; do but look on these Reverend persons: Do not your Lordships see here sitting on these benches, those that have spent their time, their strength, their bodies and lives, in preaching down and writing down Popery; and which would be ready, if occasion were offered, to sacrifice all their old blood that remains, to the maintenance of that Truth of God which they have taught and written: And shall we be thus disspightfully ranged with them whom we do thus professedly oppose? But alas, this is but one of those many scandalous Aspersions and intolerable Affronts that are dayly cast upon us. My Lords, if these men may with freedom and impunity thus beat down Ecclesiastical Authority, it is to be feared they will not rest there, but will be ready to affront Civil Power too. Your Lordships know that the Jack Straws, and Cades, and Wat Tylers of former times, did not more cry down Learning than Nobility; and those of your Lordships that have read the History of Munster, will need no other Item, &c.

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Bishop Hall's hard measure, p. 45. Nothing could be more plain, than that upon the call of this Parliament, and before, there was a general Plot and Resolution of the Faction to alter the Government, of the Church especially. The Parliament was no sooner sate, than many vehement Speeches were made against established Church-government, and enforcement of extirpation root and branch. It was contrived to draw Petitions accusatory from many parts of the Kingdom against Episcopal government; the promoters of the Petitions were entertained with great respects. The Petitions of the opposite party, subscribed with many thousand hands, were slighted and disregarded. The Rabble of London were stirred up to come armed by thousands to the Houses, offering foul abuses, crying out, No Bishops, no Bishops; and professed they would pull the Bishops in pieces. The House of Lords sent Messages to disperse them; they hold on. The Marquess of Hartford told the Bishops they were in great danger, advising them to continue in the House that night. Messages were sent to the House of Commons, but nothing done for their security. At last the Earl of Manchester undertook the protection of the Archbishop of York and his Company; and the rest, by long stay and secret passages, escaped home. This Archbishop persuades the Bishops to petition his Majesty that they might be secured in the perfor-

mance of their duties, and to protest against such Acts as should be made during their forced absence. He drew up the Petition and Protestation in our presence, avowing it to be legal, just, and agreeable to former proceedings, and got our Subscriptions. And whereas this Paper was first to have been delivered to his Majesties Secretary, then to his Majesty, and after that to the Parliament, by the Lord Keeper; these professed they never perused it; and the Lord Keeper, to ingratiate himself with the House of Commons and the Faction, reads it in the House of Lords, aggravates the matter as highly offensive, and of dangerous consequence, and so sends it to the House of Commons; where Glyn cries it up for High-Treason, yea, preferring it to the Powder-Plot. The Bishops are called to the Bar on their knees, charged with High-Treason, and on Jan. 30. at eight a clock in the night, in extremity of Frost, voted to the Tower. The Citizens entertain the News with Balls and Bonfires. While we were under restraint, the Faction renew that Bill which had been twice rejected to take away the Bishops Votes in Parliament, and prevail. Their greatest Lawyers were employed to advance our Impeachment to the highest, but found nothing to fasten on us: One of their Oracles professed they might as well accuse us of Adultery as Treason. The House of Commons, who first desired we might be brought to a speedy Trial,

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*Trial, suffered us to languish : at last, on our Petition we obtain it. Our Impeachments being read, we plead Not guilty modo & forma, and desired speedy Trial. A day is appointed. Wild and Glyn aggravate our pretended Treason; which our Counsel being ready to answer, we were put off to another day, which never came. The circumstances of that days hearing were more grievous than the substance : we were all thronged so miserably in that strait Room before the Bar, sweating, and struggling with a merciless Multitude; and when dismissed, exposed to a new and greater danger : for in the dark we must back to the Tower, and shoot the Bridge with no small peril : There we lie, expecting new Summons ; but the Parliament wave their Impeachment of Treason, and accuse us of High Misdemeanors ; and in a Bill preferred against us, desire our Spiritual Means may be taken away. After some weeks more, finding the Tower to be chargeable, we petition for liberty on Bail : the Lords grant it, and we were freed ; but the Commons hearing of it, expostulate with the Lords for freeing us without their consent ; so we are remanded to the Tower. Having tarried there from New-years-Eve till Whitsontide, where by turns we preached every Lords-day to a great auditory of Citizens, upon our Petition and 5000 l. Bonds, with a Clause of Revocation at a short warning, we were dismissed.*

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From this Relation the indifferent Reader may perceive how far the Bishops were from beginning the War, who suffered most of these Indignities before the War begun; and how causeless and shameless the Clamours of Mr. B. and his Party, concerning their persecution by Bishops are, when they openly affront the known Laws, by keeping up publick Conventicles in the chiefest Cities of the Nation; and those Reverend Bishops were so barbarously treated by their Predecessors, against all Law and Humanity. And I desire the Reader to observe, whether from the year 1660. to this present time, it hath not been his chief work to pour out the like Contempt, Malice, and Violence, as was begun in 1640. and as *Quintilian* says, *Maledicus à Malefico non distat nisi occasione*. From these injuries to the Bishops, they proceed to abuse and affront the King, and force from him his two principal Counsellors, whom they by unparallel'd proceedings cut off as their most formidable Enemies. And having driven the King away by Tumults, they endeavour by Remonstrances, Declarations, and Propositions, to make his return impossible. In June 42. the Faction sends a Petition with Nineteen Propositions to his Majesty; to which he made many gracious Concessions, as he was ready to do, even to the one half of his Prerogative,



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rogative, to prevent that Deluge of Bloud which he foresaw would follow on the War. *Out of these Concessions, saith Mr. B. (and likewise he knows by whom) there was framed a Catechism that would justifie the Parliament in all their proceedings against the King.* Yet many of those Propositions were such, as his Majesty declared he could neither in Honour nor Conscience consent unto. One was, saith that Royal Martyr in his Chap. of the 19 Propos. *To bind my self to a general and implicate consent to whatever they shall desire or propound; which were as if Sampson should have consented not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philistins might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do than quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.* This use Mr. B. and the Faction make of all his Majesties Condescensions. But let them take in also his Majesties Concessions at the Isle of Wight, when his life was in such apparent danger, and make a second Edition of that Catechism: And I suppose there cannot be a more full justification of his Majesties real desires of Peace, who granted so much; nor a clearer demonstration of their intentions for War, who would accept of nothing less than an absolute surrender of the whole Sovereign power;

power; and having seized that, they could not be secure without his Life also.

This may suffice (there being so many Histories of the rise of our late Civil Wars, especially that of Mr. *Dugdale*) to disprove Mr. *B.*'s Paradox, *That the War was begun by Episcopal men*; which the very taking and pressing of the Covenant by them that begun the War doth so plainly overthrow, that, as Mr. *B.* says, *None but Young men and Forerunners will believe.*

I now apply my self particularly to Mr. *B.*'s actions in relation to that War. That Mr. *B.* hath obtained the vogue of a numerous fry of Sectaries, who though they differ among themselves in many considerable points, yet agree to own him as their Champion, is no more than what the Anabaptists of *Munster* did for *John* of *Leyden*, or our English Sectaries for *Cromwel* and *Hugh Peters*. That he still professeth a great love to Peace, and zeal for Religion, while under a Form of godliness he destroys the power of it, his own actions will evince. It is necessary indeed, that whoever will set up for an arch-Heretick, Schismatick, or Rebel, should, besides many plausible pretences for reforming Errours and Grievances in Church and State, have some stock of Reputation as well for Knowledge as Purity, to buoy them up in the opinion of the

the People, who mostly judge according to appearance. The Devil and his Instruments could never accomplish their ends of disturbing well-established Churches and Kingdoms, if they did not transform themselves into Angels of light; and not onely guild over their poisonous Pills with a shew of Gold, but mix some savoury ingredients with them. Mr. B. hath in like manner written divers practical Books with specious Titles, for Peace, Holiness, and Self-denial: and happy it had been for himself and the Nation, if he had published *them* onely; but these being laid as Baits in the way of the Vulgar, to make them swallow his *Polemical Writings*, which are but so many Hooks and Snares to draw them in, and retain them in Rebellion and Schism; our Nation would be less in danger of new flames, if they were all consumed to ashes. Neither Men nor Books, nor any thing else, is properly good, but what is so *ex causis integris*. And when his own practice demonstrates that his writings for Peace and Unity are but so many pleas for Schism and Division; and like the Egyptian Temples, however beautiful in the Porches and outsides, are full of Serpents and Crocodiles within, which a multitude of people do adore; they do not onely need an *Index*, but an *Ignis expurgatorius*, to secure the people

people from them. There needs no other argument to undeceive the people as to his pretences for Peace and Unity in the Church of God, than his furious acting in, and arguing for that most unnatural War against the King. And I dare challenge any Historian that hath observed or read the Tragedies of the late Times, to shew a parallel in any one person (I say, not onely amongst the Apostate Clergie, but the Laity, and the worst of them) that may equal Mr. B. Who is there among the living, that entertained more early prejudices against the Bishops? that left his Calling, as a Minister of peace, and entred with the first into the War against the King? and for four years space (which was the heat of the War) was an Agent as well as an eye-witness of most of the terrible Battles that were fought in *England*? Who ever boasted of drawing some thousands to that War? Who hath said more to justifie not the War onely, but the Death of the Royal Martyr? Who more opposed the return of our present Sovereign? or hath been as active in making the Government uneasie? or who hath or can do more than Mr. B. to renew all our Troubles and Confusions? So that I could not devise a better Epitome of the late Rebellion and Schism, than this account of Mr. B.'s Actions and Writings, which is an  
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Abstract of the rise and progress of both; in whom they yet both live, and with whom I wish they may both die.

Had any man published the like passages as are here related upon his own credit, they would have been thought a Satyrical Essay, or Romantick Fiction; but being the products of his own Hand and Pen, and the lively Idea of his very Soul and Spirit, it is impossible any man can represent him a more vile person, than he hath done himself in that which followeth.

P. 39 of his Third Defence, he says, *I was not bred in Wales nor Ireland, but in Shropshire, (lest men should suspect he had been a Jesuite or Tory.) In my childhood I was first bred up under the School and Church-teaching of eight several men, of whom two onely preached once a moneth, the rest were but Readers of the Liturgie, and of very scandalous lives. (Introduction to the Hist. of Episc.)* Mr. B. began to be a *Censor morum* before he was at the age of Ten; but being now above Seventy, either Gratitude or Charity should have obliged him to spare the Ashes of them that had been long dead, and to say nothing, or no ill of them: and probably some of them deserved better things; but *Ingratum si dixeris, &c.* His first Master, he says, was a Reader never at any University, and preached

ched once a moneth: of him ( being allied to Mr. B. and because he mended ) he says no more , but leaves us to conjecture , by what he says of the rest. *From the age of six till ten, I had Four School-masters. Curates of the place successively, that read Common prayer; two never preached, the other two seldom; but the two more learned drank themselves into beggary, and left us.* The like he says of one Mr. Tale B. D. who drank himself, Wife, and Children to stark beggary. After the age of Ten , he says, p. 58. of his late *Apol.* he came to live at the habitation of his Ancestors, (but names not the place:) the Curate there was another of his School-masters, who, he says, never preached but once in his time, and then he was drunk in the Pulpit. *After that I fell into the hand of a teacher that studied for preferment, and reviled Puritans* ( it seems his love to these, transported him against all good manners to speak so ill of his Masters: ) at length I was taken into the tuition of a grave and eminent man of high esteem among great men, who expected verily to have been a Bishop. He loved me well, but so far frustrated my expectation, that in two years time he neither read to me, nor instructed me one hour, but discoursed usually of the unlearned factious Puritans: in his Study, which was all my help, I remember not one Greek Book but the Testament ;

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ment ; nor one Father but Austin de Civitate Dei ; nor any of the Councils, but ordinary English and Neoterick Divines : And he studied little all the year but Bishop Andrews Sermons. Hitherto, says Mr. B. I had no Nonconformists principles. I know not of what age Mr. B. was then ; but at Nineteen he tells us he had a distaste against Bishops as Persecutors (as he had also against his Masters for reviling of Puritans.)

Pref. to Cathol.  
Theol. p. 2.

If any suspect that his Father infused the Principles of Nonconformity, he denies that his Father ever scrupled any point of Conformity, or spake against it, which is a bare Negative ; yet he was reviled by the Drunkards and Rabble by the name of *Precisian* and *Puritan*, as bitterly as any Nonconformist now. But whether Mr. B. made his Father a Rebel, or his Father him, he tells us his Father was twice taken Prisoner ; and Mr. B's first adventure was, to seize the person of a Neighbour, to be an exchange for his Father ; but *quo warranto* I finde not. You see how early Mr. B's Spirit was fermented with Principles of Faction and Sedition. At fourteen years of age he censures the Reverend and Learned Bishop Morton : *I went my self* (saith he) *at thirteen or fourteen years to the Worsby* (but unworthily dealt with)

C

Bishop

Bishop Morton, with the rest of the School-boys (for Confirmation) without any Certificate, and without any Examination. (But I ask Mr. B. Did not your Master, who was also a Minister, first examine you and the rest? And how know you but he certified your Names to the Bishop, who all know was a man of Piety as well as Learning, though you say.) He hastily said, as he passed on, three or four lines of a Prayer over us, when I knew not what he said. This was Mr. B.'s fault, not the Bishop's, no more than that he considered not what he subscribed to at his Ordination: But he was an *Aristarchus*, a controler of Bishops at Fourteen; and at Nineteen his palate was so vitiated, that he distasted them altogether as Persecutors.

Now of what University Mr. B. was, and where he got that stock of Learning which he hath so prodigiously scattered, to his own, as well as the Nations great trouble, he mentions not; nor can I inform my self. His chief Tutors were those (of whom p. 59. of his *Apol.*) Three Neighbour ministers, venerable for age, dying two of them above 80, and the third near it, were my most profitable acquaintance; these were very worthy godly Conformists, who kept me from the Principles of Non-conformity. One of them was a learned great Disputer for Conformity, and my chief Tutor.

But



But what kind of Conformists they were, Mr. B. tells you in a Parenthesis, (*Though they had all three much rather been rid of it, (i. e. of Conformity) and so were before they died.*) They were some of Mr. B.'s Passive Conformists, who wait an opportunity to be Active in ruining the Church. Mr. B. now bethinks himself of entering on the Ministry; and (to renew his Scruples which he had entertained so early against Bishops, &c.) his chief Tutor engaged him to read Dr. Burges, Mr. Sprint, Bishop Downam, Hooker, &c. So that I was not at all in doubt of the matter; and with this satisfaction I WAS ORDAINED, AND DID SUBSCRIBE. But I verily believe never made Conscience of performing what he subscribed to; for he confesseth he had never read any thing on the other side, nor ever read the Book of Ordination, nor exactly weighed what he subscribed to, though at that time I suppose he was about twenty four. And whether he was made onely Deacon then, as is probable, or was ever ordained Presbyter after, I cannot finde. His first setting up was in another County, among divers private poor men that were very zealous Nonconformists: Against these he was a forward Disputer, and by writing against a Minister of theirs about kneeling at the Sacrament, silenced the Opponent:

ment : and in his Disputations for Conformity, he thought he had ever the better. But these men brought him to resolve to read the Writings of both sides impartially, especially Dr. *Ames fresh suit* ; whereupon he settled in the Judgement which he never since changed, about Liturgy and Ceremonies. But still he was absolutely for Episcopacy as it is with us, till 1640. when the new Canons with the *Ec.* Oath came out ; which was the very thing that occasioned such Nonconformity as he is guilty of at this day.

About this time 1640, Mr. *B.* having no Benefice, as he tells us, and perhaps for that reason among others being a resolved Nonconformist, betakes himself to *Bridg-*

See p. 73. of the  
Treatise of E-  
pisc. and p. 60  
of his Apol.

*North*, a Town in *Shropshire*,

consisting of six Parishes, most of them great ones ; which were under an Ordinary and Court of their own, exempt from the Bishops Jurisdiction ; so that he never used Cross nor Surplice, ( his Subscription notwithstanding ) having liberty to forbear them. This he chose to make the Stage for that Prologue which ushered in the following Tragedy. To ingratiate him with the people, there is a report spread that it rained Manna at his coming thither. From the Oath mentioned in the Canon, he takes the plot of his first  
Scene,

Scene, which was this: *Though every Minister in the Country* (saith Mr. B.) *was for Bishops as well as himself, yet they were so startled by the Oath, (or rather by Mr. B. who was resolved to oppose it) that a meeting is appointed about it; for (N.B.) the meeting was to be on his Lecture-day, and it was his lot to be the Opponent; which was too much for one man, to preach the Lecture and manage the Dispute, had not Mr. B. been over-zealous. To magnifie that days exploit, he says, The Defendant was Mr. Christopher Cartwright, a good man, and incomparably beyond him in learning, the Defender of King Charles the First against the Marquess of Worcester, and the Author of the Rabinical Commentary on Gen. whose Papers of Justification, saith he, I since answered. All these Titles he gives Mr. Cartwright, to enhance his own victory, which he easily obtained: for though my Objections, saith Mr. B. were none of the strongest, yet the Ministers thought that he failed in answering them, so that they broke up more dubious, (i.e.) more dissatisfied as to Episcopal Government than before. And thus the Learning and Reputation of Mr. Cartwright were made Tropheys to adorn Mr. B.'s Victory. The Scotch Covenant (he says) was not the first imposed on* (that would have been swallowed without chewing, though imposed without Authority:)

thority: ) but this, though required by lawful Authority, he was prepared and resolved to oppose. P. 37. of his second Defence against Dr. *Stillingfleet*. Mr. B. says he was so well acquainted forty years ago with many aged Nonconformist Ministers, as his familiar friends, that he knew their minds, (and probably was confederate with them) which was about the beginning of the late War, in which he was so active, that he encouraged some thousands, and by the Loyal party was lookt on as a dangerous person; for he complains that they often sought his life by unjust accusations, though God delivered him. Postscript to true Cath. p. 352. And now if it appear not by his own Narrative of his Education what put the Principles of Nonconformity into his head, yet that which follows will plainly evince what prejudices against Conformity had posselt him from his youth, as well against the Government of the Royal Martyr, as against his Ecclesiastical Superiours; to both which, by many actual Oaths, as well as other *Legal Obligations*, he was bound to yield obedience, but acted and wrote most violently against them.

His Treatise of Diocesan Bishops, he says, was meditated in the year 1642. that is, at the same time he entred into a War against the King, he broached Faction in the Church.

His

his Pen didained to be less active than his Sword. And it is probable his *Church History* had its conception at the same time as for as they were born near together, so his *Twins* are better like. On these, his *Meditations* have been more or less employed ever since. In every Treatise almost (for he hath written to the number of Eighty) we are told of the pride, oppression and cruelty of the Bishops: and in his five Disputations of Church government, we have a Model of this *Babel*; for the erecting of which, he hath assembled all the Arian Heretical Authors that he could hear of, such as *Philostorgius*, *Socrus*, &c. and out of them he quotes onely the worst things, omitting what is left on record concerning the Learning, Piety, Courage, Patience, Charity and Condescensions of those Fathers and Martyrs of whom the world was not worthy: he notes onely the Calumnies of their Adversaries, or those Infirmities which their Zeal for Truth against Error, and their Love of Peace against Faction, might discover in them. And contrariwise, speaking of their Adversaries, whether Arians, Nestorians, Donatists, Novatians, &c. he commends them as good and well-meaning men, mistaken onely in the manner of expressing themselves; applauding them for their holy and strict lives, without any notice of their damnable Errours, though

they denied the Lord that brought them. And thus he hath dealt with the Councils and ancient Fathers, to whose Decrees he imputes all the troubles which were occasioned in the Church by those Hereticks and Schismatics that opposed them, not taking any notice how great a fence those learned and godly men were to the Church of God, as well against Heathen as Hereticks, whom they resisted even to blood. So that Mr. B. hath not reproached them onely, but Christianity it self, and represented the Discipline and Authority of the Church as not to be submitted to or tolerated in the world. And this he doth by the whole Order of Church-governours, that he may make ours the more odious. He says, (as in divers places) p. 252. & 253. of *Saints Rest*, That the first rage of the Prelates in silencing as learned able Ministers, and incessantly persecuting as godly Christians as the world enjoyed, was now (just before the War begun) increased an hundred fold. P. 251. As I am certain by sight and sense, that the extirpation of Piety was the then great design which so far prevailed; that very many of the most able Ministers were silenced, Lectures and Evening-Sermons on the Lords-day suppressed, Christians imprison'd, dismembred, and banished: (He speaks as if it were done by Heathen, for no other cause but as being Christians:) That it was as much at least

least as a mans Estate was worth, to bear a Sermon abroad, when he had none (or worse) at home; to meet for Prayer, or any other godly Exercise; and that it was a matter of credit, and a way to preferment, to revile and be Enemies to those that were most conscientious; and every where safer to be a Drunkard or an Adulterer, than a painful Christian; and that multitudes of humane Ceremonies took place, when the Worship of Christs Institution was cast out. (besides the slavery that invaded us in civil respects.) So I am most certain, that this was the work which we took up Arms to resist; and those were the offenders whom we endeavoured to offend. You see Mr. B. is armed with Prejudice and Zeal Cap-a-peé for a War, wherein to resist his Superiours, under a pretence of Reformation, though to that resistance the Word of God threatens Damnation. Yet Mr. B. p. 251. says, As I cannot yet perceive but that we undertook our Defence upon warrantable grounds, so I am most certain, God hath wonderfully appeared through the whole. (Success was the great Argument;) of which p. 250. Having been an Eye-witness of a very great part of the eminent Providences from the first of the War, I have plainly seen something above the common course of Nature, in almost every Fight that I have beheld. The War (saith Mr. B.) was begun in our Streets, before the King or Parliament

ment had any Armies; between the Puritans and drunken Rabble that hated the Parliaments Reformation; and so I was forced to be gone before the Wars. And a man that was more pious and devout than the multitude, could not live by them in most places; but were forced into Garisons and Arms to save their lives, p. 252. of *Saints Rest*, (i.e.) in plain English, Mr. B. with the other Reformers put themselves into Arms; and seized the Kings Ports, making them Garisons against the King.

I desire the Reader to reflect on this part of the Narrative. Mr. B. often accuseth the Conforming Clergy with deliberate Lying and Perjury. What was it in Mr. B. being prejudiced against the Bishops at nineteen, yet against Bishop *Morton* at fourteen, being familiar with Nonconformist Ministers, and knowing their minds, yet to submit to Episcopal Ordination, and subscribe and swear to obey the Bishop in *Hearts & Conscience*; and presently omit the Cross and Surplice, and dispute openly against Bishops, and prosecute and defend the War against the King, against the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and when his taking of Holy Orders seems to be for no other end but to enable him to do the more mischief: Was not this to be deliberately perjured? But to go on, (he says in cold blood) *His engaging in that War was the greatest outward service that*  
ever



ever be performed to God: That Neutrality had been sinful; and to have been against the Parliament in that Cause, had been Treachery, p. 481. of H. C. Wealth. And p. 480. If I had known that the Parliament (in that Cause) had been the beginners, and in most fault, yet the ruine of our Trustees is a punishment greater than any fault of theirs (though it were the cutting off his Head) against a King can deserve; and that their faults cannot disoblige me from defending the Commonwealth. I knew the King had all his power for the Common Good, and none against it; and therefore that no Cause can warrant him to make the Commonwealth the Party which he shall exercise Hostility against: and that War against the Parliament, especially by such an Army, in such a Cause, is Hostility against them, and so against the Commonwealth. All this seemed plain to me, and especially when I knew how things went before, who were the Agents, how they were minded, and what were their purposes against the People, Would not this man have made a better Solicitor against the Royal Martyr, than Cooke (who said he was another Solomon for his Parts?) Did Cromwell or Bradshaw ever object such things against him as Mr. B. hath done? Who could think that Mr. B. who pretends so much for Peace, was ever a man of such a temper? With what heart could he be an Eye-witness of the  
hu.

humane Butcheries that were made in almost every Fight from the beginning of the War? or with what face could he say there appeared more of Christs interest on the one side than on the other, as in the first occasion, so in the prosecution? p. 252. of *Saints Rest*. And again, *Whatever the end may prove, I am sure I have seen the Lord in the means*, p. 251. And, *That as we undertook our Defence on warrantable grounds, so I am most certain God hath wonderfully appeared through the whole*, *ibid*. He says in the Epistle, he was wonderfully rescued from many dangers in four years Wars; and after many tedious nights and days, and many doleful sights and tidings, he and many of his *Kederminsters* (whom he, it seems, had led on to the War) were returned in peace; that he was twenty several times delivered when he was neer to death. *O the sad and heart-piercing spectacles*, says he, p. 115. *that mine eyes have seen in four years space! In this Fight a Friend fall down by me, from another a precious Christian brought home wounded or dead,* (precious Christians, no doubt, that died in such a horrid Rebellion;) *scarce a month, scarce a week, without the sight or noise of Blood. Surely there is none of this in Heaven; our eyes shall then be filled no more, nor our hearts pierced with such Fights as at Worcester, Edge-hill, Newbury, Nantwich, Montgomery,*

gomery, Horn-Castle, Nafeby, Langport, &c. (it seems he was present in these Fights: ) For he adds, *Mine eyes shall never more behold the Earth covered with the Carcasses of the slain.* And he saith, He had travelled over the most part of England (to pursue the War.)

*Illi robor & æs triplex circum præcordia.*

Had not Mr. Baxter told us the contrary, we might have thought he had been born in Ireland, and nursed up by some ravening Wolf, that could see the death of so many of his Friends who died in Rebellion, and were like to perish eternally as well as temporally; and so many Loyal Nobles and Gentry perish in their Integrity, some perhaps by his own hand, but many probably by his procurement, without any regret, and please himself with the meditation of it; yea, and ascribe all to the eminent Providences of God, above the ordinary way of Gods working. *Matth. of Westminster*, p. 71. of his History, tells us, That *Richard* the First in the French Wars took among other Prisoners *Richard* Bishop of *Bayeux* neer his own City, who was presented to the King in his Armour as he was taken; and being imprisoned, the present Pope wrote to the King an angry Letter, chiding him for imprisoning his dear Son, and requiring him to send his dear Son home to him. The King detains the Bishop, and sends onely the

the Armour in which the Bishop was taken, willing him to consider whether that were his Sons Coat or no.

Reader, you see here a little man. (*David* some account him) but in the Armour of *Goliath*; and as he, *a man of War from his Youth*, defying the whole *Israel* of God, saying, *Give me a man that we may fight together*: his confidence is in his Armour, which is all of Brasse, so close knit with Lyes, Contradictions, and Slanders, that as the Scales of the Leviathan, you can scarce discern any space between them. Let the Reader take a full view of him, and then tell me whether he be a Child of Peace, or a Man of War. Do these things favour of an Evangelical Spirit? or are these fit Meditations for one that was penning the *Saints Everlasting Rest*? Well may he talk of it: But such men as *Mr. Baxter*, and *Brook*, (who was actually slain in the Rebellion) *Pym*, *Hambden*, and *White*, &c. who were perpetually tormenting themselves and others in an unnatural and bloody War, without timely and serious Repentance, could never enjoy it; though *Mr. B.* place them all there, with many more such precious Christians.

I cannot omit to inform the Reader (because I my self and some thousand others yet live to contradict him) how falsely, as well as maliciously, he calumniates the happy and peaceable

peaceable Reign of the Royal Martyr: for so it was, until the times of Mr. B's unhappy Reformation. We read, *Ezra 3. 12.* When the foundation of the second Temple was laid, the people shouted; but the Priests and Levites, and chief of the Fathers, who were ancient men that had seen the first house, wept with a loud voice. I cannot without a fit of grief and pain, look back upon those (over-prosperous) times, wherein Peace and Truth did so flourish, that we were the envy of our Neighbour-Nations; and until groundless Fears and Jealousies distracted us, this Nation was as *Jerusalem, a City at unity within it self.* Every one sate under his own Vine, and under Gods Vine too. There was no decay of Trade, no leading to Captivity, till we began to surfeit of our Plenty, and to grow sick of Peace, and to loath Manna it self; and then God gave us up to the hands of such Physicians as had the skill onely to let us bloud, but never the art to staunch it, till all our Strength and Beauty, all our Liberties, Properties, and Religion were past recovery by the wit of man; and God himself did it by a Miracle from Heaven. And yet this man of Peace (forsooth) to whom (and such as he) we owe the loss of all our Blessings, and all the damages done to Church and State, is at every turn defaming those happy times, complaining of persecution

tion of Christians, and slavery in civil respects. See what he says, *H. C. Wealth*, p. Sect. 7. *The Peoples Rights were evidently invaded; many thousands have suffered, or were forced to remove out of the Land; upon the account of illegal Impositions; (and though he himself observes the contrary, p. 88. of his Apol.) Ministers were ejected and punished for not bowing towards the Altar, for preaching Lectures, and twice on the Lords day; (whereas the Canon only required, that they who used that Ceremony, would not despise them that used it not, &c. obliging no man) and the Afternoon-Sermon was only to be exchanged for a Catechize-Lecture. Nor were any punished, but for preaching or practising Sedition and Faction, which were then so strong as to affront the Laws, and within a little while to destroy them and the Government both in Church and State. To dismiss this Book of the *Saints Rest*, which was his first and his best, as he thought himself: for if Mr. Cressley (saith he) had read no better than my *Saints Rest*, the *Life of Faith*, the *Divine Life*, the *Christian Directory*, &c. he would never have gone from the Protestants to Popery, for want of an affectionate Spiritual Devotion.*

I would willingly prevail with Mr. B. that as in a later Edition of his *Saints Rest*, he left out the mention of *Brook*, *Pym*, *Hamden*, &c.

as Members of a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right aiming, self-denying, unanimous, honourable, triumphant Senate: So if he live to see another, he would leave out those unsuitable passages which I have mentioned, and change them for such as this in the Epistle: *I shall leave you my best advice for your immortal Souls, as the Legacy of a dying man; receive it as from one that unfeignedly loves you, as if I offered it on my bended knees, yea as one that hath received authority from Christ to command you: I charge you in his Name, as you will answer it when we shall meet at Judgment, that you faithfully and constantly practise these Directions, (whereof this is one:) Above all, see that you be followers of Peace and Unity, both in the Church, and among your selves. I differ from many in several things of considerable moment; yet if I should zealously press my judgment on others, so as to disturb the peace of the Church, and separate from my Brethren, I should fear lest I should prove a Fire-brand in Hell, for being a Fire-brand in the Church. And for all the interest I have in your Judgment and Affections, I here charge you, that if God should give me up to any factious Church-rending course, that you forsake me, and follow me not a step.*

No sooner had the Presbyterians excluded the Bishops, and their Directory the Liturgy, but the Lords Prayer is also exploded as a thing

## 34 *The Second Part of the*

of no use either for matter or form: for the men of that Age thought it not Spiritual enough for such over-grown Christians as they were, being adapted onely to the nonage of the first Disciples: Nor was it sufficient to disuse it, but they poured out all the Contempt they could upon it, both from their Pulpits and the Press. Dr. O. was so transported with the *In dwelling of the Spirit*, that at the same time when he wrote against the Socinians, he wrote also against the use of our Lords Prayer. And this Antichristian practice prevailed so far, that the People generally refused to teach it their Children; Some gave God thanks they had forgotten it; and if any sober Clergy-man did conclude his own Prayer with it, a great part of his Auditory would presently depart out of the Church, as if it were impossible for them to be edified by such a Preacher as had no better gift of Prayer. And thus to make a thorough Reformation, they first agreed on no more Addresses unto God, before they voted no more Addresses to the King. The Creed and Commandments suffer the same indignities, being generally omitted in their publick Worship; and in many places, especially at their Lectures, scarce a Chapter of the Holy Scripture read to the People; the whole Exercise being made up of extemporary Prayer and Preaching:



ching: the best of their Sermons, if I may account them so that are Printed, and were preached in the greatest Congregations on most solemn occasions, abounding with such invectives against the King, such Arguments and Motives to Rebellion and shedding of Bloud, as will be an indelible reproach to the Presbyterian party, who so taught others the Doctrine of resisting their Superiors, that they soon felt it to be practised against themselves, who had broken down all the fences of Government, and opened those wide breaches by which so many Heresies and so great Confusion over-slowed the Nation; so that the Pulpit-drums exceeded those of the Field in doing mischief, drawing on more Souls to destruction than the other did Bodies.

In the year 43. when the Parliaments Army were worsted and weakned by the King, and they thought themselves in danger of being overcome, they intreated help from the Scots, who taking advantage of their straits, brought in the Covenant as the condition of their help. Thus Mr. B. p. 127 of his first Plea; who confesseth it was contrived as a Stratagem of War to bind the Faction in both Nations in a Confederacy against the King, and strengthen the War against him; for the doing whereof, they pawned their

*Souls to each other*, as his Majesty observes in the Chapter of the *Covenant*. And if it be considered by how many solemn Oaths and Protestations the Subjects of both Nations, as well as by the Laws of God and Nature, were obliged to defend his Majesty's person, and the Laws and Government established; it will appear to be true, as Mr. *Philip Nye* observed, *That for matter, persons, and other circumstances, the like hath not been in any Age or Oath we read of in Sacred or Humane story.* But it did the work for which it was designed; it brought in the Scots Armies, by the promised hopes of dividing the Church-lands upon the extirpation of Episcopacy; and was as fatal to the King as to the Bishops: For the King's Forces being broken, he withdraws from *Oxford*, where he was besieged, and commits himself to the Scots Army, who sollicite him to take the Covenant, and sign their Propositions for the Presbyterian Government. *Henderson* is sent to dispute the point with the King; and he being baffled, Mr. *Cant*, *Blair*, and *Douglas* endeavour the same; but more by railing than reasoning with him. One of them (besides many rude expressions in his Sermon before the King) called for the *52 Psalm*; which begins thus: *Why dost thou, tyrant, boast abroad, Thy wicked works to praise?* Whereupon

on the King presently stood up, and called for the 56 Psalm; which begins thus: *Have mercy Lord on me, I pray; For men would me devour.* Which the people readily sung, leaving the other. And the Commissioners of the general Assembly resolved, that if the King be excluded from Government in *England* for not granting the Propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, it was not lawful for that Kingdom to assist him for the recovery of the Government. Nay, they threaten to deliver him up to the Parliament of *England*, as shortly after they did for 400000 *l.* for the raising of which sum, an Ordinance is past for Sale of the Bishops Lands at ten years value, *Nov. 16.* And by another Ordinance, *Feb. 8.* none were to bear any Office Civil or Military that refused to take the Covenant. The Parliament having gotten the King in their power, thought themselves very secure; and therefore resolve to disband the whole Army, Horse and Foot, and to send a good part of them for *Ireland*; which so startled the Army, that they began to take new measures. And first they demand their Arrears for 56 Weeks. Next, that a Declaration against the Army *March 13.* might be recalled, and they secured for what had been done in the late Wars: which things at a general Rendezvouze they

they petition the Parliament for; who being under great fears, vote all that was desired. But the Army had a farther designe, and by 1000 Horse under Cornet *Joyce*, seize the Kings person, and detain him in the power of the Army; which was *Cromwel's* design, who though he sat with the Members at *Westminster*, and protested there with execrations against himself and his Family that he was ignorant of the fact, yet he told his Confidants, that *Having got the King into his Hands, he had the Parliament in his Pocket*. And presently he falls to purging of the House, impeaching Eleven of the chief Presbyterians of High-Treason, and secluded them the House; and afterward got the Militia of *London* into their hands: for the Army being drawn up on *Hounslow-beath*, marched up to the Parliament-house, and gave it a second purge of many more Members; and marching triumphantly through *London*, did demolish their Works; and never left, till he had settled the Parliament to his own liking.

But to return to Mr. B. *Four years*, he says, *he was a Member of the Army*; part of which time (by what follows) will appear to be after that the Independent party was predominant, and the Army new-modelled. He pretends he was sent among them by an  
Assembly

Assembly of Divines : And I find, that such Divines as attended the *Westminster-Assembly* were ordered ( *Aug. 28. 1643.* ) to go into the Country to stir up the People to rise for the defence ( as they call it ) of the *Parliament* ; but indeed , to strengthen the Rebellion against the King : For against this Assembly , consisting of half Lay and half Clergy , but wholly of disaffected persons, we find the King thus declaring by Proclamation : *That many of them were persons who had openly preached Rebellion, and excited the People to take up Arms against him : That the far greater part of them were men of no Reputation or Learning, and eminently disaffected to the Government of the Church of England ; and therefore he forbid their meeting.* But Mr. B. was of another judgement : He says, *I have not read of many Assemblies of worthier men since the Apostles days,* Answ. to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, p.84. This, or some relick of this Assembly ( who themselves ran before they were sent ) did send Mr. B. to the Army, where he says he accompanied Commissary-General *Whaley*, a person who was sometime the Kings Jailor , and whom you may find in that black List of his Majesty's Judges ; a fit Conductor and great Confident of Mr. B.'s ; to him M. B. dedicates his Apologie, by the name of *The Honourable, &c.*

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With this *Achitophel* our *Schemei* hunts *David* from Mountain to Mountain, cursing and railing at him as he goes; the Sword of his Tongue being longer and sharper than his furbished Sword. *Curse ye Meroz, and Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and Cursed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood,* were the common Texts of the Army-chaplains.

He says in the Epistle to his first *Plea for Peace, My honest Friend*, (a Profelyte of his whom, it seems, he had engaged in the War) *when he saw here a Leg, and there an Arm, (was fainthearted, and ) said it was time for him to stop.* But the valiant Mr. B. though he had seen many sadder sights, even the Carcasses of some Thousands, Streams of blood, the ruine of Cities, Towns, Churches, and Castles, goes on as undauntedly as *the Horse that rusbeth into the Battle.* Let the Reader view (if he can without horror) what Mr. B. reports of himself in two Epistles Dedicatory to two of his Army-Saints. In that to *Whaley*, he saith, *Providence did so clear his way (viz. in that War) and draw him on, and sweeten unusual troubles with unusual Mercies, and issue all in testimonies of Grace, that he had great mixtures of Comfort with Sorrow in the performance. And that he had more eminent Deliverances and other Mercies in those*  
years

years and ways of *Bloud and Dolor*, than in most of his life besides. It seems he was of the mind which our Saviour foretold of some, that should kill his Disciples, and think they did God service. He adds: *The best is, we now draw no bloud*, (it seems he had done that sufficiently) *they were now as Conquerours to divide the spoil*. And great things did this Champion promise himself, though it appears that he was disappointed of his hopes: for in another Epistle to Colonel Berry, whom (*Stilo Novo*) he calls Honourable too, as being one of the Council of State, he thus expostulates; *Was I not capable of Secular and Military advancement as well as others?* (it seems he thought so, but they did not) *Did I ever sollicite you as much as for my Arrears, which is many Hundred pounds?* (it seems he had served them long, and was well promised for his pains; but this man of Conscience was content with the pleasing work of drawing bloud *gratis*;) he scorn'd to open his mouth for the many Hundreds due to him, hoping they would have advanced a man of so generous a Spirit to some eminent Military Preferment, whereof (his Ministry notwithstanding) he thought himself capable. But this great Warrior, partly through regret at his disappointments, of which he complains in the 2 p. of his Epistle before

before his *Saints everlasting Rest*, against *ungrateful men*; and partly through his bodily infirmities (for however *willing his Spirit* was, his *Flesh was grown weak*) being exhausted by the accidents of War: For in the same Page he tells us, that *Being in his Quarters far from home, he was cast into extream languishing by the sudden loss of about a gallon of blood*, (which should have minded him of the many Gallons of blood whereof he had been the cause of effusion) *after many years foregoing weaknes, by which his body was ruined beyond hopes of recovery, the sentence of present death being by the ablest Physitians past upon him*; from which he was delivered by a wonder in the midst of his duties, (*i. e.* in the War) and was supported fourteen years in a languishing estate, wherein he had scarce a waking hour free from pain. And thus (though against his will) he is forced to leave the Army. And might not Mr. B. justly say (and the Reader believe him in this) as he writes in a Letter to Dr. Hill---*I have been in the heat of my Zeal so forward to changes and ways of blood, that I fear God will not let me have a hand in the peaceable building of his Church*? And the Judgment of God is eminently upon him, who hath been so far from building, that it hath ever since been his great business to destroy the best established Church in the world;



world; which will appear, by taking a view of this mortified man in his retirement from the War. And we find him sitting down on the sequestred Living of Mr. *Dance* at *Kedderminster*; he had inticed many of that place and neighbourhood to the War, and some few returned with him again. How far he was given to Plunder in the time of War (whereof he hath been accused) I affirm not; but it will draw a shrewd suspicion on him, that he was not afraid to take a horse or two in time of War, who seized on the person of a Neighbour, to serve as an exchange for his Father; and possessed himself of the Livelihood of Mr. *Dance*, of whom he confessed, as the Bishop of *Worcester's* Letter, p. 3. informs, *That he was a man of an unblamable life and conversation, though not of such parts as might qualifie him for the cure of so great a Congregation.* And though Mr. *B.* was not welcomed here by a Miracle (as he was at \* *Bridg-*  
*north*, where the Report is, that it rained Manna on the Church wherein he was to officiate;) yet he was convinced by Providence, (as he says in that Epistle) *That it is the Will of God it should be so:* (a strange Argument, from Gods permission of an unrighteous act, that it is his will it should be so!) *For this* (saith he) *I clearly discerned in*  
*my*

\*See Mr. B's relation of this, in a Postscript to his *True Catholick*, p. 294.

*my first coming to you, in my former abode with you, and in the time of my forced absence from you.* But the truth is, Mr. B. had too much adhered to the Presbyterian interest, to be advanced by that Army; though he desires them to remember how far he had gone with them in the War, and pleadeth their acknowledgment that a special presence of God was with the Parliament; and presseth on them the sin of forcing out 140 Members first, and then 120, and *their proclaiming it Treason to say that the Parliament was in being*: And then he urgeth those Scriptures to them, which himself had shewn them an example to condemn, *Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 13.* and that they might know his meaning, he tells them, *That the secluded Members were the best Governours in all the World; that they had the Supremacy, and yet had been resisted and deposed in England.* It was a sin with Mr. B. to oppose the Usurpers, and a duty to resist the King and fight against him; which Mr. B. did for four years together: And *it is to be believed* (saith Mr. B.) *that a man would kill him against whom he fights,* p. 423. *H. Commonwealth.*

But Mr. B. was not very constant to his own Profession concerning his long beloved Parliament: for in the same place and breath almost, he says, *Secondly, I mean the powers that were last layed by, (viz.) Richard and his*  
 Par-

Parliament; of whom he says, as to *Richard*, That he piously, prudently, and faithfully, to his immortal honour, did exercise the Government, how ill soever you have used him. But wherein did all this Piety and Prudence appear? was it that he did inherit from his Father *Oliver* a tender care of the Cause of Christ; of which you seem to give an instance in the Protestants of *Piedmont*; when it was notorious, that a great part of the charity of the Nation for their relief, was employed in maintaining the War against the King. Was it that at the instance of a few of his Officers, he dissolved that Parliament of his? Was it in swearing that he would to the utmost of his power maintain and preserve the just Rights and Priviledges of the People, and govern according to Law? which he could not do. Was it in making a tame submission to some of his Army, calling them *The present Government*, from whom he expected protection, and held himself obliged to live peaceably under them, and to procure to the utmost of his power that others should do so too? These things argue no great stock of Piety, Prudence, or Faithfulness. And as to *Richard's* Parliament, which had an Upper House consisting mostly of Military, Mechanical, and Fanatick Members; a Lower House of men of none or very ill note: Of this Parliament Mr. B. says, He  
never

never had known a Parliament more inclined to Piety and Peace; (the long Parliament not excepted) whereof he gives this instance: Because it was their desire to have settled Elections according to Mr. B.'s advice, (*i. e.*) to keep out all whom he calls *ungodly*, from chusing or being chosen. See the Preface to the *Holy Commonwealth*. These were they of whom Mr. B. says, *They were the best Governours in all the World, such as they had sworn and sworn to obey again and again; such as might not be opposed on pain of Damnation; and that he would with great rejoycing give a thousand thanks to that man that would acquaint him of one Nation in the World that had better Governours in Sovereign Power, as to Holiness and Wisdom conjunct, than these, who yet had been resisted and deposed.* It seems Mr. B. could have been easily reconciled to any Governours, but those to whom of right the Government did belong. And any Reader conversant in Mr. B.'s Writings, may observe, that Mr. B. never complained so much of Arbitrary Government and Persecution under any of the revolutions of Usurped Powers, as he hath done since the King and Church were restored; nay, he wrote as industriously for Obedience to some of them, as he hath since to encourage Disobedience to these. And let me desire the Reader to consider what ground Mr.

*B.* had for his great veneration of the *secluded Members*, more than for those who were called *the Rump*. Did not they agree in that accursed Vote of *Non-Addresses* to the King before their Seclusion? Did not they upon their re-admission, re-enforce the *Engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords*? Did not some of them provide an *Oath of Abiuration* of the King, to be taken by such as were to sit in the Council of State? Did not some of them send to General *Monk* to advise him that he must take that Oath, before his admittance into that Council? Did they not offer to settle *Hampton-Court* on General *Monk*, and desire him to take the Government on himself, under what Title he pleased? And because they did this, (and might justify themselves in so doing, upon Mr. *B.*'s *Theses* in his *Holy Commonwealth*) they are (all these things notwithstanding) the Supream Powers, the best Governours in all the World, and such as to resist, is to incur Damnation.

Mr. *B.* during the time of his abode at *Kedderminster*, was not employed in writing onely, as he did against Dr. *Pierce*, justifying the Trade of Sequestrations; and against others, representing them as men that had neither hatred to Sin, nor love to Godliness or common Honesty; because, he says, they  
pub.

published so many, so gross and shameless Falsehoods, and over-acted the part of the Accusers of the Brethren, p. 308. of Postscript to the True Catholick. But he was employed also in assisting the Commissioners for Sequestrations, p. 297. *ibid.* Yet he excuseth the matter, and says, He never persecuted or cast out any, or endeavoured it by word or deed, unless for notorious scandal or insufficiency; and we know that Dr. Pierce, and such as he, were then accounted such, as not having the Grace of God in them. Upon some such account it was, that Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Pocock were ejected, to the perpetual infamy of the Ejectors.

How vainly doth Mr. B. still plead for Sequestrations, p. 78. of his Apol. First, *That the Ministers were ejected by the Secular Power.* But were not they animated by the Clergy who, as Mr. B. had then no Benefices? Secondly, *That some of the Parishes were the Accusers, Witnesses, and Solicitors.* And such may be still found in most Parishes where there are very good Ministers. But, Thirdly, *The People should not be left as Heathen, and therefore 'tis an excusable error; and when the love of Souls makes them spend themselves for the Peoples good, this should not be thought their unpardonable crime. And they did think that the Salary was for the Work; and if they had a lawful call to the Work of the place, they thought*  
they

they had so to the Salary. Now though Mr. B. framed these Reasons for them, he adds, *I justify not their Reasons; but my Opinion is, That being young men mostly in the Universities, that had little or nothing of their own, they could not well otherwise have got Bread and Clothing, much less Fire, House-room, &c.* Those young men could better have shifted for their maintenance, than turn so many aged Ministers with Wives and Children out of all. Of such as say, *We may do evil that good may come of it*, the Apostle says, *Their damnation is just.* But Mr. B. concludes, p. 79. *To say the truth, many of them thought it a good work, yea very good, to cast out these* (thousands of them whose Livings were desirable, by false accusations) *as insufficient or vicious.*

These are that *learned, godly, faithful Clergy* that have chosen Mr. B. their Prolocutor to justify them in all their Disobedience and Violences, and to accuse the Conformists of perjury, persecution, and other heinous sins, in those Books which he calls his *Pleas for Peace.*

Because Mr. B. thinks himself abused in the account which Mr. Durel and others have given of his Sequestration at *Kedderminster*, take his own account. In the year 40. the Parliament began to sequester such Ministers as appeared most loyal; and so early the people of *Kedderminster* article against their Vicar:

it was worth then about eightscore pounds *per Annum*, (now more.) The Vicar fearing to lose all, is forced to give a Bond of 500 *l.* to pay 60 *l.* yearly to a Lecturer. Mr. B. is invited to accept of it, and holds it for a year and half, being driven off by the Wars, which he followed four years, and thinks it a kindness that he did not sue the Vicar for his 60 *l. per Annum* which he did nothing for. But at his return, the Vicar is sequestred by a Committee, and Mr. B. is importuned to take it; which he refuseth to do in his own name, but thus it was contrived: *I got all the Magistrates and Chief of the Town together, who openly subscribed to give me 100 l. per Annum, as their Lecturer; and that no part of this should accrue from the Vicaridge.* But mark the Juggle! He said immediately before, *I told them, that by an Augmentation which I procured, making my 60 l. an 100 l. and a house, I would be their Lecturer as before.* This 60 *l.* was to come out of the Vicaridge, notwithstanding that Proviso to the contrary. But the Sequestrators who gathered the Tythes, gave him no account; nor needed they: if it be true that Mr. B. had 80 or 90 *l.* and an Assistant about 60 *l.* more, there was not much left for the Vicar. But Mr. B. asked them whether any of the money they gave him came out of the Tythes: They told him,



him, the 60*l.* due by Bond, and an Augmentation granted by Parliament, was more than he had; (*i. e.*) all that he had came out of the Vicaridge, though it were not full as much as was promised him: for the Bond and Augmentation came to 100*l.* whereas he received but 80 or 90*l.* *And they used my name* (saith Mr. B.) *in letting the Tythes: for they had privily got an Order to put me in the sequestred Vicaridge; which when I knew, I consented to, for their indemnity.* So that after all his art to evade the guilt of a Sequestrator, it is plain the Vicaridge was sequestred in his name, the Tythes agreed for in his name, the Pay was made out of the Tythes; and to all this, though *post factum*, Mr. B. consented. *And this was my taking the Sequestration*, p. 81. of Apol. I know that some persons have minded Mr. B. to make restitution; but he thinks he had a right to it, and wants but a Secular Power to place him in it again; yea, he thinks himself wronged that he hath not the fifth part still payed him: for, p. 85. *Even the Usurpers allowed the Wives of the sequestred Ministers the fifth part; for my part, I never asked you so much.* He expected to have it offered him as his due, without asking. But I suppose his many hundred pounds of Arrears from the Army, and his Fifths from *Kedderminster*, will be payed together.

The Protector O. never had any respect for him: and he would now perswade the world that he had as little for the Protector; although in an Epistle to his Son *Richard*, before the *Key for Catholicks*, he thus applauds him: *The serious Endeavours of your Renowned Father for the Protestants of Savoy, discovered to the World by Mr. Morland, hath won him more esteem in the hearts of many that fear the Lord, than all his Victories in themselves considered: We pray that you may inherit a tender Care of the Cause of Christ.* When Mr. B. could not be so great a stranger as to be ignorant how the Charity of the People, which was very large at that time, was abused, and employed to very ill uses; yet with Mr. B. *Oliver* is as *David*, and his Son *Richard* as *Solomon*.

How Mr. B. and his Party behaved themselves during the imprisonment of the King, and while he was in the hands of his Murderers, they are not willing to discover. Mr. B. for his part says, That he proved in the times of Usurpation, that the Presbyterians detested it, that the *London-Ministers* printed their abhorrence of it to the World, &c. Preface to *Second Plea*. As for the *London-Ministers*, I read, that about 59 of them in number pleaded for the King in these words: *That the woful Miscarriages of the King himself, which we cannot*

cannot but acknowledge to be very many and great in his Government, have cost the three Kingdoms so dear, and cast him down from his Excellency into a horrid pit of Misery beyond example. This Plea for the King is like their late Pleas for Peace, (i.e. Justifications of Schism and Sedition;) for in it they say enough to excuse the Regicides: *We cannot but acknowledge, (i.e. we affirm and bear witness) that the woful Miscarriages of the King himself, not of his evil Counsellors onely, but his personal Crimes and fundamental Errours in Government, too many and great to be here mentioned, have cost the three Kingdoms so dear, as that all the Bloudshed, and Rapine, and Devastations that have been made in England, Scotland, and Ireland; might be charged on him; and for these he is justly cast down from his Excellency into so horrid a pit of Misery beyond example: (i.e.) Though the like were never done in the world, he is justly fallen under a sentence of Condemnation.* As to Mr. B.'s particular abhorrence of that barbarous fact, and his proving that the Presbyterians detested it, I suppose the place he refers to, is his *Key for Catholics*, p. 321. &c. he says in p. 323. *That the case of murdering our King, differs very much from the Powder-Plot, or Papists murdering of Kings, and teaching that it is lawful for a private hand to do it. A War, and a treache-*

*rous Murder, are not all one; nor is a part of the Sovereign Power all one with a private hand,* p. 324. I have read what *John Goodwin* and *Milton* have written in vindication of that horrid Murder, and do believe that *Mr. B.* hath out-done them both. Let the Reader seriously peruse that part of his Writings (which he quotes to prove the contrary) from p. 323. to p. 326. and I believe he will be of the same opinion: for the designe of it is to prove, that, (p. 323.) *If the Body of a Commonwealth, or those that have part in the Legislative Power, and so in the Supremacy, should unwillingly be engaged in a War with the Prince, and after many years Blood and Desolations, judiciously take away his Life, as guilty of all this Blood, and not to be trusted any more with Government; and all this they do, not as private men, but as the remaining Sovereign Power, and say they do according to Laws: undoubtedly the case differs very much from Papists murdering of Kings. I speak not this by way of Justification, saith Mr. B. p. 325. whether they were in the right or wrong, I am not the Judge; but surely it was the Judgment of the Parliament upon the division, (between the King and them) the power was in them to defend themselves and the Commonwealth, and suppress all Subjects that were in Arms against them; and that those that did resist them, did resist the Higher Powers set over*

over them by God, and therefore were guilty of the damnation of Resisters. And this they assured the people was a truth : And so hath Mr. B. done too in his *Political Aphorisms* more at large ; but expressly enough in this place, where under the name of *Grotius*, p. 324. he asserts, *That the Legislative Power being divided between the Prince and Senate, the Prince invading the Senates Right, may justly be resisted and, lose his Right.* And this was well understood by all that engaged in the War against the King from the beginning, that in case they conquered the King, he was no more to be trusted with the Government : For if it were known before-hand, (saith Mr. B.) that if they should purchase a Victory by their Blood, when they have done all, they must be all governed by him whom they have conquered, and lie at his mercy, they would hardly ever have an Army to defend them. So that the King was never more to be trusted ( i. e. ) either with Government or Life.

As for Mr. Love, Mr. B. in the cited Preface intimates, that he was beheaded for his Loyalty ; which I think he sufficiently demonstrated, in these two passages : ( Not to take notice here of his barbarous insulting over that truly great Prelate when he was brought to the Block, waving his Handkerchief, and crying out, *Art thou come, little Will,*

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*Ec.*) the one, in his Sermon at *Uxbridge* :  
*It was the Lord that troubled Achan, and cut  
him off because he troubled Israel. O that in  
this our State, physicians would resemble God, to  
cut off those from the Land that have distem-  
pered it ; ( and he tells us plainly whom he  
means ) Melius pereat unus quam unitas : men  
that lie under the guilt of much innocent blood,  
are not fit persons to be at peace with, till all  
the guilt of blood be expiated and avenged, ei-  
ther by the Sword of the Law, or by the Law of the  
Sword, else the peace can never be safe or just.*  
The other passage was, in his Speech, *Sept.*  
*14* of his Trial ; where speaking of his op-  
posing the Tyranny of a King, he says, *I*  
*did, it is true, in my place and calling, oppose*  
*the Forces of the late King ; and were he alive*  
*again, and should I live longer, the Cause be-*  
*ing as then it was, I should oppose him longer ;*  
That is, he had lived, and would die a Re-  
bel.

An hundred instances of such fatal res-  
lections on that excellent Prince, have been no-  
ted in the Sermons and other Writings of  
men of Mr. B.'s perswasion ; and yet to  
shew that he dares do any thing to justifie  
his party, he makes a bold challenge to those  
whom he calls their accusers, to shew, if  
they can, what Body or Party of men on  
Earth have more sound and Loyal Principles  
of

of Government and Obedience. And yet they have preacht and publisht to the world the same Doctrines which were voted *January* the fourth 1648. *That the Representative of the People in Parliament have the Supream power of the Nation; and whatever is enacted or declared for Law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the form of a Law; and the People are concluded thereby, though the consent of King and Peers be not had thereunto.* Which Votes were passed in order to the Kings Trial.

Were not they the King's most Loyal Subjects, that carried on a War against him, until they made him their Prisoner, and then used him as a captiv'd Slave, denying him the liberty of a Man, the society of Wife, Children, and any Attendant whom he could trust; and of a Christian, denying him the assistance of his Chaplains; leaving him no comfort that might make his life desirable, but perpetually baiting him with the Covenant, and such unreasonable Propositions as they knew beforehand the King could not in Honour or Conscience comply with? Being thus bound and chain'd, the Independants take him out of their hands, and put an end to his sufferings. *Salmasius*, a great Presbyterian himself, truly represents the case: *If a Thief* (says he, p. 353 of his *Defensio Regia*)

gia) apprehends a Traveller, disarms him, robs him of his Money, and leaves him naked, and fast bound to some Tree, and some ravenous Beast finding him in that condition, kills and devours him; to whom ought the cause of his death to be imputed? to the Thief, or to the Beast? And he concludes, *Ita justum Regem & sanctum extinxere Presbyteriani*. These disarmed him of his Militia, these bought and sold him as a Captive, these covenanted to preserve his Life, with a condition of his preserving their Religion; which when he should refuse, they thought themselves bound by Covenant to desert him. The Army in a Remonstrance from St. Albans, Novemb. 16. say, that *Whereas it might be objected, that the Covenant obliged them to preserve the Kings person*: They say, *It was with this restriction, In the preservation of the true Religion. Religion and publick Interest were to be understood the principal and supream matters ingaged for; the Kings Person and Authority were inferiour and subordinate; which being not consistent with the preservation of Religion and publick Interest, they were by the Covenant obliged against it.* And what was it less that the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Scots resolved on, viz. *That if the King were excluded from Government in England for not granting the Propositions concerning Religion and*



and the Covenant, it was not lawful for that Kingdom to assist him for the recovery of his Government? (yet this is that solemn Covenant, for the obligation whereof Mr. B. so contumaciously pleads, against the Authority of the whole Nation.) And upon these and such-like Proposals from Scotland, the Parliament vote, *That no more Addresses be made from them to the King, nor any Letters or Message received from him* : And, *That it should be Treason for any person to receive Letters from the King, or deliver any to him, without leave from both Houses.* And were not these the Kings most Loyal Subjects? Or what Body or Party of men have in Mr. B.'s fence more sound or Loyal Principles of Government and Obedience?

Though Mr. B. was disabled to combat any longer with the Sword, yet is he resolved to do it with the Pen, which he dips not in Gall and Vinegar, but in the very Poyson of Asps, to keep open the Wounds of the expiring Church : To which end he endeavours to draw his Neighbour-Ministers into an *Association*, and procures the *Worcester-shire-Agreement* ; the design of which you may see in Mr. B.'s *Gildas Salvianus*, which was intended as a Humiliation-sermon to those that would enter into the Association; not that they should humble themselves, but the Clergie

Clergie that yet adhered to the King: For one effect of it was, the promoting a Petition, *That notoriously insufficient and scandalous persons* ( and as such, Mr. B. represented the Loyal Clergie; though, as himself observes in the same Book, the Synod of *Dort* called them *Stupor Mundi*, the astonishment of the World, by reason of their eminency ) *should not be permitted to meddle with the mysteries of Christ, especially the Sacraments.* Upon which Petition, as Mr. B. hath been told, there issued that rigid Proclamation for *Silencing* all sequestred Ministers, and forbidding them not onely the exercise of their Ministry, but of keeping any Schools, &c. A design as witless as it was wicked; for Mr. B. notes in the Preface to that Book, *That it had been put to a Vote in Parliament, to take away both Ministry and Maintenance;* yet, like another *Sampson*, he is pulling down the pillars of that House, whose Ruines would bury himself and all his Order. A little taste of his malice at that season, must needs distaste the impartial Reader. *One sort that will be offended at me* ( says he ) *are some of the Divines of the Prelatical way,* ( as indeed they all justly might ) *for reproaching not as by hearsay, but from sight and feeling, first, the Silencing of most godly able men, the persecution even of the peaceable, the discountenance of*  
godliness,

godlineſſ, and the insulting ſcorn of the profeſſeſt in the Land. And many hundred ſwear-  
 ing, drunken, ignorant, ſcandalous, negligent  
 Miniſters are caſt out, and we have now many  
 humble, godly, painful Teachers in a County.  
 And as for the people, he ſays in the ſame E-  
 piſtle to his Gildas, That moſt of them where-  
 ever he came, did make Religion, and reading  
 the S. S. or ſpeaking of the way to Heaven, the  
 matter of their bitter ſcorn and reproach. He  
 ſpares not to revile the Royal Martyr, as if  
 he intended to juſtifie his Murder: King  
 Charles (ſaith he) by the Biſhops inſtigation,  
 kept Mr. Pryn long in priſon, and twice cropt  
 his Ears for writing againſt their Masks and  
 Plays, and the high and hard proceedings of  
 the Prelates; though the Archbiſhop (whole  
 Head they cut off for leſs) ſhewed greater  
 crimes, of which he was proved guilty, in his  
 Speech in the Star-chamber. This was not  
 ſuch a faſt as God required, to looſe the bands of  
 wickedneſſ, to undo the heavy burthens, to break e-  
 very Toak, and let the oppreſſed go free. This  
 was the hypocrites faſt for ſtriſe and debate,  
 and to ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſſ, and to  
 make their voice to be heard on high, Iſai. 58. 4.  
 in the words of the proud Pharifee, God I  
 thank thee, I am not as other men, nor as this  
 Publican; as will appear to him that reads Ch.  
 4. S. 1. and p. 154 where he railleth intolerably

bly against the Rulers, as *Haters of practical godliness*, and of all that would but speak seriously of Heaven, and tell men of Death and Judgement, and spend the Lords day in preparation thereto; that did but pray in their Families, or reprove Drunkenness or Swearing. What could any Papist say more to disparage the Church of England? As to the inferiour Clergie, he says, p. 157. *The Churches were pestered with abundance of meer Readers, Drunken, Profane, and Debauched men; and many that had more plausible tongues, made it their chief business to bring those they called Puritans into disgrace. So that I must needs say, I knew no place in those times (for he speaks of men and places within his knowledge) where a man might not more safely have been drunk every week, than to have gone to hear a Sermon if he had none at home. Nor doth he spare those that died long before his memory*, p. 143. *What toys and trifles did the ancient Reverend Fathers of the Church pester the Church with? And what useles stuff are many of their Canons composed of? Three lamentable vices did the Prelates of the Church commonly abound in: Pride the Root, and Contention and Vain-glory the Fruit, &c.* to p. 149. where he is not ashamed to tell the world what troubles the first Nonconformists raised at Frankfort against those Reformers and Confessors that were

were exiled for maintaining the same Worship and Liturgie, for the defence of which many Bishops and Ministers were suffering Martyrdom under the Papists. *No sooner were they (the Nonconformists) called home,* saith he, p. 150. *but some of them were so intemperate, impatient, and unpeaceable, that some turned to flat separation, and flew in the faces of the Prelates with reviling.* Yet Mr. B. doth the same, and accounts the requiring of Uniformity in the same or a better Worship, to be a Persecution. As for his Brethren, he professeth to believe, *that England never had so able and faithful a Ministry since it was a Nation as at this day, viz. Decemb. 4. 1655.* in the heat of Rebellion; yet he affirms, *Sure I am, the change is so great within these twelve years, that it is one of the greatest joys that ever I had in the world to behold it.* But for the Prelatical party, he brings in some, saying, *They are all empty, careles, if not scandalous and ungodly men.* And may we not conclude as Mr. B. doth, p. 167. *This is not a confessing sin, but an applauding those whose sins they pretend to confess?* Mr. B. calls this Book *Gildas Salvianus*; but he might have more truly entitled it, *Excidium Britannicum*: for that followed on it.

In the year 1658. just Ten years after that the best of Kings suffered by the worst of men,

## 64      *The Second Part of the*

men, Mr. B. sets forth his *Grotian Religion*; and through *Grotius's* sides, strikes at the Head and Members of the Church of *England* with one blow: For *the Grotian design* (*i. e.* Popery) *was carrying on*, saith he, *in the Church of England*; and *that this was the cause of all our Wars and Changes in England*, p. 105. where he thus talks concerning the Royal Martyr, beyond any thing that his barbarous Judges could accuse him of.---*How far the King was inclined to a Reconciliation* (with the Church of *Rome*) *I onely desire you to judge*: 1. *By the Articles of the Spanish and French Match sworn to.* 2. *By his Letter to the Pope written in Spain.* 3. *By his choice of Agents in Church and State.* 4. *By the Residence of the Pope's Nuntio here, and the Colledge of the Jesuits, &c.* 5. *By the illegal innovations in Worship so resolvedly gradatim introduced.* *All which I speak not with the least desire to perswade men that he was a Papist — but onely to shew, that while he as a moderate Protestant* (*i. e.* a Papist in Masquerade, as they are now termed) *took hands with the Queen a moderate Papist, the Grotian design had great advantage in England, which he himself boasted of*, p. 106. Of this indignity to that Religious Prince, the Learned Bishop Brambal, p. 617. of his Works, took notice, and vindicated him: of which Mr. B. being told

told by a Book called the *Impleader*, who said onely, that Mr. B. gave several intimations that the King was Popishly affected; he numbers that among other lies of that Author, p. 100. of his third *Defence*; and says, *Why did not the man tell where and when; and that he had printed the contrary in times of Usurpation; and that he is a Calumniator unless he prove it? Why did he not cite Bishop Bramhall's proof* - - and you see that a Calumniator with them is no singular person; they are not ashamed to tell the world that their Archbishops lead them, and are as bad as they. It seems Mr. B. was pinched by this relation, which makes him cry out, *I have printed the contrary.* See what these sort of men are come to! What credit is to be given to such mens Reports! Is this it in which the Authoritie of Archbishops consists, that they must be followed in slanders, &c.? I have saved the *Impleader* the labour of quoting the place, and desire the Reader to consult it, and see how maliciously and groundless he urged those things against the King at such a time as that. But Mr. B. says, *he printed the contrary in times of Usurpation.* That time which now he calls a time of Highest Usurpation, was the same which he then lookt on as a blessed time, when Rich. Cromwel piously, prudently, and faithfully, to his immortal honour, exercised the  
F Government,

Government, 1659. and to him he dedicated that Book, wherein he says he wrote the contrary, p. 327. where having accused the new Episcopal party for following *Grotius*, he adds, *As for the King himself, that was their Head, if any conjecture that he was a flat Papist, &c.* Mr. B. believes him not; but he was the head of the *Grotian Papists*; and he himself boasted of it (*ubi supra.*) Now if any would know how far *Grotius* was a Papist (he says) *he was a more arrant Papist than Cassander, and one that owned the Council of Trent; And such I think are flat Papists.* And therefore it was no lie in the *Impleader*, to say Mr. B. gave intimations that the King was Popishly affected; but a gross one in Mr. B. to deny it, and give him the lie, as he doth impudently to others. But Mr. B. says, *he did not believe it himself, that the King was a flat Papist*: Then his iniquity was the greater, to give so many instances by way of proof, that others might believe it. Did not Mr. B. know that the fear of introducing Popery was made one ground of the War against the King? and may he not make it a ground of another War, because the King adheres to his Bishops, whom Mr. B. calls *Popish Clergie-men*? And he says, *that the Parliament, whom they were bound to believe, made it their great Argument and Advantage*  
against



against the King, that he favoured the Papists; and on this supposition (saith he) Thousands came in to fight for their Cause. And they made one Article against the Archbishop of Canterbury, That he endeavoured to introduce Popery, though he were indeed one of their greatest Adversaries, whose life on that account they endeavoured to take away. And the relation of Dr. Du Moulin, That at the Death of the King, a known Papist was heard to say, That now their greatest Enemy was cut off, is very credible. But Mr. B. knew that old Maxime, *Fortiter Calumniare, aliquid adhærebit*. It is no honest mans part, first to break a mans Head, and then to give him a Plaister; which if it be not too narrow to heal the Sore, or ineffectual to cure it, yet may leave some ugly scar behinde.

Dr. Pierce hath given many more Arguments to prove Mr. B. a Papist, than he hath given of King Charles the First: And if his actings for forty years together be well considered, it will appear he hath been made use of as one of the most keen and Catholick Tools that ever the Papacy did employ, whether he knows it or not. It is, I confess, a difficult thing to tell the world what perswasion Mr. B. was of as to Church-government, whether Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independant; he hath been of all, and I think

he is now of neither, having a peculiar Model of his own.

In a Book called *A Method for Peace, &c.* printed 1653. I find him to favour *Lay-Elders*, though in other Writings he condemned them as superstitious; but by a passage in p. 341. he seems reconcilable to them: for thus he saith, *Nothing almost is wanting to us to set our Congregations in the Order of Christ, and to the great Work of Reformation, so much as want of maintenance for a competent number of Ministers or Elders to attend the Work: We have divers godly private Christians capable of helping us as Officers in our Churches; by which I suppose he intends Lay-Elders, although I cannot certainly affirm what his judgment is concerning them: for he would willingly set up a new Model of his own, (i.e.) a mixture of Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent Government; but declares for neither of them. It is more certain, that he once professed himself a Conformist, and disputed for Bishops and Liturgy as by Law established; and he thought he had ever the better: yet if it be true that he had a prejudice against them ever since he was nineteen year old, it was rather to betray than defend them. But in an Assize-Sermon preached 1654- at Worcester, p. 191. he pleads for the Presbyterian Government, in these words:*

*How*

*How long hath England rebelled against his (Christ's) Government? Mr. Udal told them in the days of Queen Elizabeth, That if they would not set up the Discipline of Christ in the Church, Christ would set it up himself in a way that should make their hearts to ake: I think (saith Mr. B.) their hearts have aaked by this time; and as they judged him to the Gallows for his Prediction, so hath Christ executed them by thousands for their Rebellion against him. Now it is evident what Discipline Udal meant, by his confederacy with Coppinger, Penry, &c. of which Cambden, p. 420. of his Eliz. Engl. says, Some of those men who were great admirers of the Geneva-Discipline, thought there was no better way for establishing it in England, than by railing against the English Hierarchy, and stirring up the People to a dislike of Bishops. They therefore set forth scandalous Books against the Government of the Church, and Prelates; as Martin Mar-Prelate, Minerals Diotrepes, A Demonstration of Discipline, &c. In which Libels they set forth virulent Calumnies, and opprobrious Taunts and Reproaches, in such manner, as the Authors seemed rather Scullions out of the Kitchen, than pious and godly men: yet the Authors were Penry and Udal, Ministers of the Word. Bishop Bancroft quoteth a Pamphlet of Mr. Udal's, called A Dialogue, where he says, That*

*the Bishops Callings are meer Antichristian,* p. 59. of *Dangerous Positions*; and p. 45. he says, *They were very devilish and infamous Dialogues, and that there was a Conspiracy between Coppinger, Wigginton, &c. by some extraordinary means (such as Udal had prophesied should make their hearts to ake) for releasing of some that stood in danger of their lives; meaning, as I suppose, says the Bishop, Udal, Newman, &c.* The dangers threatned by such extraordinary means to disturb the Government, hastned the Trial of Udal, who with three others, took occasion from the intended Invasion in 88, to alarm the Nation at home; as also they did on the Powder-Plot, and to this day do, by scattering seditious Pamphlets. Udal was charged with a Book called *A Demonstration of Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the government of his Church, in all times and places to the Worlds end.* The Preface was directed *To the supposed Governours of the Church of England*; to whom he says, *Who can deny you, without blushing, to be the cause of all ungodlinesse, seeing your Government is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing, save a sound Christian? for certainly it's more free in these days to be a Papist, Anabaptist, of the Family of Love, yea, as any most wicked, rather than what we should be: And I could live these twenty years as well*

as any such in England, yea, in a Bishops house it may be, and never be molested for it. So true is that you are charged with in a Dialogue lately come forth, and by you burnt, that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your Dignities, be it to the damnation of your own Souls, and infinite millions more. The whole Book being like this Preface, he was indicted at the Assizes held at Croyden, and found guilty. He pleaded, That he was indicted on the Statute of 23 of Eliz. c. 2. for punishing seditious words against the Queen, but that the Book charged on him, contained no seditious words against the Queen, but the Bishops onely. But it was answered by the Judges (N. B.) That they who spake against her Majesties Government in cases Ecclesiastical, her Laws, Proceedings, or Ecclesiastical Officers which ruled under her, did defame the Queen. And on clear proof that he was the Author of that Libel, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death; but by intercession of Archbishop Whitgift, was reprieved. Mr. B.'s actings have been so like Mr. Vdal's, that it is no wonder to find him labouring to justify him in a Cause wherein himself is so nearly concerned.

In 1659. came forth Mr. B.'s Key for Catholics, dedicated To his Highness Richard Lord Protector, p. 323. where he asserts, That if the body of a Commonwealth, or those that

have part in the Legislative Power, and so in the Supremacy, should be unwillingly engaged in a War with the Prince, (suppose the Long Parliament, or the Commonwealth under Oliver against King Charles the First) and after many years blood and desolations, judicially take away his life as guilty of all this blood, and not to be trusted any more with Government, (as the Parliaments Vote for non-address to the King.) And all this they do, not as private men, but as the remaining Sovereign Power, and say they do it according to Law; undoubtedly this case doth very much differ from the Powder-Plot, or Papists murdering of Kings. With much more to the same evil purpose. And doubtless the difference is great; it is more horrid for Subjects to pretend Justice, than for the Pope to attempt by secret Plots to destroy a Protestant Prince. In the year 58. he prints his five *Disputations of Church-government*; which were designed against restoring the extruded Episcopacy and Liturgy, and to justify the Presbyterian Ordination, where (as also in his *Method for Peace*, p. 389.) he saith, *We have taken down the superfluous honour of Bishops, (viz. their power over Presbyters) as Antichristian.* This disputatious Book (he says) was written against Dr. Hammond, who was then his Neighbour; and he dealt very friendly with him: for he scarce touched one  
of

of his Arguments, but the designe of the Book was to destroy the whole Order, as *Optatus* said of a Donatist, *Dei Episcopos linguæ gladio jugulasti, fundens sanguinem non corporis sed honoris*, Opt. Milevit, l. 2.

And because after *No Bishop* follows *No King*, in 1659. he sets forth his *Holy Commonwealth*; which was no other than a Plot to keep out the *King*, as the other was to keep out the *Bishops*: for there being great hopes that upon so many Revolutions of Government we should settle again on our ancient Foundations, he says, *He suited that book to the demands and doubts of those times*. And his endeavour is to prove, *That the King being secluded, and his Subjects discharged of their obedience, ought not to be readmitted*. Thus in the Preface: *That a succession of wise and godly men, may be secured to the Nation in the highest power, is that I have directed you the way to in this book*. And thus he explains himself: First, as to the higher Powers; *Prove*, saith he, *that the King was the highest Power in the times of Division, and that he had power to make that War that he made, and I will offer my head to Justice as a Rebel*. These confident Assertions of his were such as brought a far better head to the block. But what would Mr. B. have? *My wish is*, saith he, *that our Parliaments may be holy, and this ascertained from*  
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*Generation to Generation, by such a necessary regulation of Elections, that all those who by wickedness have forfeited their Liberties (i. e. the King and Loyal Party) may neither chuse nor be chosen. And the reducing Elections to faithful, honest, upright men, such as (he says) were then in Richard Cromwel's Parliament, is the onely, onely, onely way to a certain and perpetual Peace and Happiness.* He commends Richard Cromwel, as one that inherited his Fathers Virtue; one that piously, prudently, and faithfully, to his immortal Honour, exercised the Government; perswades all men to live in obedience to him; and stiles himself (in the Epistle to his Five Disputations, desiring his favourable acceptance of the tendered Service of) a faithful Subject to his Highness, as an Officer of the Universal King, R. B. Doth not this man affirm, notwithstanding all the Confusion that had covered the Land, all the Bloud that had been shed, and all the Heresies and Blasphemies that had poysoned millions of Souls, that he is one that rejoyceth in the present happiness of England, and honoureth all the providences of God by which we have been brought to what we are? Epistle Dedic. to Richard before his Key for Catholicks; and in his *H. Commonw.* p. 487. Nor can I be so unthankful as to say, for all the sins and miscarriages of men since, that we have not received much mercy from the Lord.

And



And therefore he sets up his Stone of Remembrance, with this Inscription in great Letters: *HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US.*

Is it possible, that a man who hath said and done such barbarous unnatural deeds, and stirred up many thousands to do and say the same things with him, should still deceive the meanest Christians? Is it possible he should still persist in the same, and yet retain the opinion of a Saint? and be reputed the chiefest Guide of a Godly People? Yet this it is: He is consulted as the Oracle of the Nonconformists; *All of them*, as a late *Encomiast* says, *do light their Fires at his Torch.* And he hath the forehead with the strange woman, to wipe his mouth, and say, *What have I done?* You may guess by what he says: *I must profess, that if I had taken up Arms in that War against the Parliament,* ( he says it, p. 488. of *H. Commonw.* ) *my Conscience tells me I had been a Traytor, and guilty of resisting the Higher Powers.* And in his *Key for Catholicks*, where the *Legislative Power* and *highest Judicial Power* is divided by constitution of the Government *between the Prince and Senate*, ( as he determines the English Monarchy to be ) he says modestly there, many will think; but he elsewhere delivers it as his own sentiment, *That the Prince invading the Senates Right,*

*Right, may justly be resisted and lose his Right, p. 324. Yet this man says, Further than I was for the King, I never was one year with the stronger side: As if he had been always loyal. And p. 489. of Commonw. If any of them (i.e. his Accusers) can prove that I was guilty of hurt to the person, or destruction to the power of the King, or of changing the fundamental constitution of the Commonwealth, (not the Kingdom) taking down the House of Lords without consent of all three estates that had a part in the Sovereignty; I will never gainsay them if they call me a most perfidious Rebel, and tell me that I am guilty of far greater sin than Murder, Whoredom, or Drunkenness. And Anno 1680. he is not ashamed to say in his Preface to the second part of the Nonconformists Plea,--In all the times of Usurpation, and since, I said and wrote that the Kings person is inviolable, and to be judged by none, either Peer or Parliament: And the book accused (i.e. the H Commonw.) goeth on these principles. So that notwithstanding his pretence of recanting what was there said, he still seems to justify those The-  
ses, and adds, The book accused hath not a word meet to tempt a man in his wits to such accusation: Yet he says, Thes. 352. Though a Nation wrong their King, and so quoad meritum Causæ they are on the worser side, yet may he not lawfully war against the Common Good, (i.e. the*

the rebellious Party) or on that account; nor any help him in that War. And *Thes.* 374. If a Prince that hath not the whole Sovereignty (which he says of our King) be conquered by the Senate that hath the other part, and that in a just defensive War, (as he thought the late War to be) the Senate cannot assume the whole Sovereignty, but supposeth that Government in specie to remain: and therefore another King must be chosen. This was pleasing Doctrine in the Protector's time. And *Thes.* 137. If Providence (i. e. success in Rebellion) statedly disable him that was the Sovereign from executing of Laws, protecting the just, and other ends of Government, it maketh him an incapable Subject of the power, and so deposeth him. And being so made incapable of Government, by *Thes.* 146. Though he were unjustly dispossessed, it is not the duty of his Subjects to seek his Restitution. The Reader hath heard of a famous Roman Saint called Ignatius, who if compared with others of that Church, we may say of him as one doth of Mr. B. That he exceeds them as much as a Flint doth a Freestone, because out of him so many Fires have and may be kindled. If such an Historian as Plutarch were now living, how easily might he run a Parallel between these two Generals? Both were famous *tam Marte quam Mercurio*; but whether of them was the greater Souldier or the

the better Saint, might occasion some dispute; the reading whereof would not be altogether so sad, as the restless endeavours of the Disciples of them both; who, however they seem to differ in other things, joyn all their hands to pull down our Church. Impiety being grown to such an height, I should think it a thing impossible that it should proceed any farther, the wickedness and shame of it being (notwithstanding any pretence) manifested to all men: and that upon the joyful tidings of his Majesties most happy return in peace, by a most miraculous and admirable providence, the Authors of such Opinions and Practices should seek where to hide their heads. But we are told, that *Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft*, which seldom admits repentance; and though they have power to do hurt, yet they have none to do good. Hence it is that this confident man appears still with open face, and pursues the same ungodly ends. I know not how it came to pass, but this same man was admitted to preach a Fast-Sermon to the House of Commons when they were consulting of inviting home the King to his Fathers Throne; and with great boasting he tells us often, that *the King was called home the next day after that Sermon of his*, as if it had not been done if he had not preached: whereas it is very observable, that in all the Sermon there

there was not one word that might be interpreted to promote that Noble Designe, but many things that were intended to hinder it, or clog it with very dishonourable terms. He intimates the Supreme Power to be still in the two Houses. He tells us indeed, that *Rom. 13.* is part of the Rule of his Religion, ( and adds ) *but unhappily there hath been a difference amongst us which is the higher Power.* ( And be it remembred, that he had offered his head to Justice as a Rebel, if any could prove that the King was the highest Power in the time of Division. ) Whereas he himself confesseth, that a *Heathen persecuting Nero must be obeyed*; Yet he affirms, That *it was not the intent either of St. Peter or St. Paul, to determine whether the Emperour or Senate was Supream*; though *St. Peter* plainly determines it, when he calls the King *Supream*; and *St. Paul*, by appealing *not to the Senate*, but to *Cæsar*. In that Sermon he magnifies the Loyalty of the *Presbyterians*; adjures the Commons to an opposition of *Episcopacy*, though the King in his Message commended it to be as antient as the Monarchy in this Island. And under the titles of *Sound Doctrine* and *Church-government*, pleads for *Presbytery*; and would (p.46.) have the Church-revenues settled on them: P. 43. saying, *Give first to God the things that are Gods.* For these he pleads,  
under

under the name of the *godly, peaceable, and prudent people of the Land*, in opposition to the *prophaneness*: And to insinuate new fears and jealousies, cries out, *O what happy times did we once see!* When where those happy times? Not in the peaceable time of King *Charles the First*; those were days of *Prophaneness* and *Persecution*: He must mean either under the *Long Parliament*, when so much loyal blood was shed; or under the *Protection* of *Oliver*, when that *best of Princes* was butchered; or under *Richard*, of whom and his Mock-Parliament he gives such large Encomiums. But now, *Nox una perpetuo mansura*, The days of Light and Jubilee are gone: And (as it is with Bats and Owls) when the Sun appears, their night is come. He was it seems of the same mind with his Brother *Jenkins*, who said in a Sermon preached Sept. 25. 1656. *That the removal of Prelatical Innovations counter-vailed for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in the late Distractions; nor would he redeem all those by the return of the same, if it might be done.* For Mr. B. speaking of Prelatical men, who condemn the Ministers and Churches that had not Prelatical Ordination, says, *They would surely silence such Ministers, and dissolve such Churches through all the Land, if it were in their power, as it may be* (says he) *when our sins have ripened us for SO GREAT A PLAGUE.* Post. to True Cath. p. 335. Chap.

## C H A P. II.

*Nec dum finitus Orestes.*

**I**F Great Theodosius, as Mr. B. says, (*Treatise of Bishops*, part i. p. 147.) did cast himself down on the Earth before Ambrose to beg pardon and re-admission with tears, and was not received till some months continued penance. If Great Mr. B. being so hainous a Criminal as he hath under his own hand acknowledged, should, after such a miraculous return of the King, humble himself before the King and his Nobles in such manner as he promised once he would do; it was no more than was his duty, and perhaps not enough to expiate his Crime. Thus then Mr. B. expostulates, p. 14. of his Answer to Bagshaw: *Is it possible for any sober Christians in the world to take them to be blameless, or those to be little sins? What, both the violating the person and the life of so good a King? and the change of the fundamental Government or Constitution? The setting up the Protector, and pulling him down again? &c. If all this were no Rebellion, Treason, or Murder, is there any such Crimes to be committed? If I was guilty of such sins, ( Habemus*

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confitentem Reum) *I do openly confess, that if I lay in Sackcloth and in Tears, and did lament my sins before the world, and beg pardon both of God and man, and beg all men to take warning by my fall, which had done such unspeakable wrong both to Christ and men, I should do no more than the plain light of Nature affureth me to be my great and needful duty,*  
*p. 17.*

But he that had the confidence to meet the Old King and his Armies in the field, (*now that the Sword is taken out of his hands*) wants not impudence to take up his Pen, as dangerous a Weapon, and most maliciously handled, and to affront the present King before he be well settled on his Throne, *in this Military way*, as he terms it in his *Third Plea*, *p. the last.* And though his Fraternity could not be permitted to bring him under Articles before, yet they vigorously attempt it after his return. The first attempt was concerning a Declaration to be extorted from the King about Ecclesiastical affairs: *We offered his Majesty and the Bishops, at first, the Archbishop Usher's Model for Concord: Treatise of Episc.* Part 2. *p. 53.* The Bishops would not once take it into consideration, nor so much as vouchsafe to talk of it, or bring it under any deliberation. They knew whence it came, not from the Archbishop's, but the Presby.



Presbyterian Forge: For Mr. B. confesseth, p. 87. second part, *They that would have conformed to his Majesty's Declaration* (which, as you shall hear anon, they had caused to be drawn according to this Model) *went on this Supposition, that the Species of Prelacy was altered by it: and yet on these terms they would unite with the Prelatists, onely so far as ta go in a peaceable performance of their Office,* p. 116. (just as now they do.) In that 116 p. Mr. B. raiseth this Objection against the Declaration; (for I can scarce call it his Majesty's, being by the necessity of times, and the importunity of troublesome men, extorted from him.) Obj. *You did but obtrude on us your own Opinions: for when you had drawn up most of those words, his Majesty was forced to seem for the present to grant them to you, for the quieting of you.* Answ. p. 117. *If we did offer such things, (for it was in vain to deny it) let the world judge what we sought by them* 2. *There is most of that about Rural Deans put in, I suppose, by the Bishops consent, who were to word it after it went FROM US; (a good office indeed, to whet a Sword to cut their own Throats, and be the Presbyterians Journey-men to their own undoing.)* For Thirdly, *Whoever mentioned or desired it: it appears that the work of Jurisdiction, Excommunication, Absolution, no nor Ordination,*

was not thought to be above the Office of a *Presbyter*; that is, They would have robbed the Bishops of all their Power and Authority, and taken it to themselves; and then they would go on peaceably in the performance of their Office: and therefore it is no wonder that the Bishops refused to consider of such a Model, *And that very Parliament that had so much manners as to thank his Majesty for that Declaration* (which others have not done for the Act of Oblivion) *did lay it by, so that it was never done, but other Laws established which we feel, saith Mr. B.*

I cannot pass by that vain-glorious-boasting of his so often-mentioned, how soon the Archbishop of *Armagh* and he were agreed as to *Episcopacy, &c. in half an hour*; and in another place, *in a quarter of an hour*: when indeed the Model which he calls the Archbishop's, was published after the beginning of our Wars, to put a stop to that utter confusion then intended by the total extirpation of *Episcopacy*, and not as a pattern for 1660. He says, one Mr. *Stanly* of *Dorchester* told him, *That Archbishop Usher did profess to him, that he took a Bishop to be Primas Presbyterorum, of the same Order; and every Presbyter to be a Governour of the Flock: and when he asked him Why then he would be a Primate?* he told him, *That he took it not*  
for

for any part of his Office, but for a collateral dignity which the King was pleased to bestow on him. And that Bishop Reynolds professed to him his opinion to be the same when he took the Bishoprick. At Bishop Reynolds I cannot wonder; perhaps he cared not for the Species of Episcopacy, which this opinion of his destroys, but the substantial advantage: His Bishoprick was managed partly by his Wife, who visited the Conventicles, and his Chancellor, who, as Mr. B. says, p. 184. of *Treatise of Episcopacy*, had been a Judge-advocate in Fairfax's or Cromwel's Army. But that Archbishop *Usher*, who so long and so laudably exercised the Jurisdiction of an Archbishop, should act against his Judgement and Conscience, Mr. B. nor Mr. *Stanly* shall ever make such as knew any thing of that good man to believe: something he might do in that necessary time, for the reduction of the Church, which was then in a miserable confusion, to some Order and Government; but he never intended that Model which Mr. B. calls his, and which altered the very Species of Episcopacy, for the reduction of Episcopacy. The Bishop's Practice for so many years, is an undeniable Argument of his Judgement for Episcopacy. Dr. *Bernard* confutes all such slanders, having recorded the Archbishop's Judgement in these words: *Holding as I do*

that a Bishop hath *SUPERIORITY IN DEGREE ABOVE A PRESBYTER*, you may easily judge that the Ordination made by such Presbyters as have severed themselves from those Bishops unto whom they had sworn Canonical Obedience, cannot possibly be excused by me from being Schismatical. But Mr. B. hath well observed, That *Faction* is one of the greatest Lyars ( and I may add, the greatest Slanders ) in the world.

It is usual with Mr. B. from the Concessions of men in cases of necessity, to frame an Argument against their free and most deliberate Judgement; as he hath most injuriously dealt with his late Majesty in his Concessions to the Nineteen Propositions of the Parliament, which he made for Peace-sake, wherein he condescended to part with much of his right, but could not be heard. Archbishop *Usher* was translated to *Armagh* March 22. 1624. and died *March* 21. 1655. so that he continued in that See 31 years, and doubtless did not act against his Conscience all that time. I cannot give you his Judgement in all our controverted points: One thing is very considerable which he delivered in a Speech at the Castle of *Dublin* before the Lord-Deputy and the great Assembly, *April* the last, 1627. concerning a Supply of Money to be granted the King, p. 80. of *Dr. Barnard's*

ward's Sermon: *In this case give me leave as a Divine to tell you plainly, that to supply the King with means for the necessary defence of the Country, is not a thing left to your own discretion either to do or not to do; but a matter of Duty, which in Conscience you stand bound to perform. The Apostle Rom. 13. having affirmed, that we must be subject to the higher powers, not onely for wrath, but Conscience sake, adds this as a reason to confirm it; For, for this cause you pay Tribute also; as if the denying of such payment could not stand with conscionable Subjection: thereupon he infers this Conclusion, Render therefore to all their due, Tribute to whom Tribute, Custom to whom Custom is due, agreeable to that known Lesson which he had learned of our Saviour, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, &c. where you may observe, That as to withhold from God the things which are Gods, man is said to be a robber of God, whereof he himself complains in case of substracting Tythes: so to deny a Supply to Cæsar of such means as are necessary for support of his Kingdom, can be accounted no less than a robbing of him of that which is his due; which I wish you seriously to consider —* And in this Mr. B. and many of his perswasion will be dissenters from the Archbishop, and so they would from his Model also; for why else did they not shew any

readiness to accept it when it was first proposed? Nothing would please them then, but *the extirpation of Episcopacy Root and Branch*. And secondly, the Archbishops Model preserves that Species of *Diocesan Bishops*, which Mr. B. would destroy, and (Thirdly) under which Mr. B. makes Christ's true Discipline impracticable. Nor will any Government please Mr. B. as long as the *Liturgie is established*, which he fancieth to abound with many heinous sins, whereof, as long as any one is retained, *Conformity* is to him impossible.

Mr. B. hath been always opposing the party that was uppermost. He began with the *King and Bishops*: then with the *Presbyters*, opposing their Doctrine in the Confession of Faith, see p. 20. of Mr. B.'s *Confession*. And their Discipline by *Lay-Elders*. And p. 83. of his *Apologie*, *When the Presbyterians seemed uppermost, I was looked on as a Dissenter: When the Rump was uppermost, I was by their order (de jure) Sequestred: With the Army I was out much more: Cromwel was not for me, because I was not for him. And yet he was so much for him, as to leave it on record, that if the Lord Protector had not slept in, all the Ministry had been taken down. And whence came it (says he, p. 321. of his Key for Catholicks) that Sexby and others*  
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that have been Souldiers in our Armies, have confederated with Spain to murder the Lord Protector? And whence came their Jesuitical Treasonable Pamphlets, (such as *Killing no Murder*, whose Author is known to be no Jesuit) provoking men to take away his life? Whence is it that Mr. B. prays that his Son *Richard* might inherit a tender care of the Churches of Christ, if he were so much against *Oliver*? The plain truth is, he was neither for *Oliver* nor *Richard*, but so far onely as to hinder the return of his Majesty and the Church to their lawful and ancient Rites. In his gracious Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, his Majesty desired the Dissenters to read as much of the Common-prayer as they had no just exceptions against. But though Mr. B. and other of his Brethren had professed that they could use the greatest part of it, we never heard that they gratified his Majesty in the reading so much as one Collect; but instead thereof, they petition for a Reformation both of Doctrine and Discipline: and particularly, they petition his Majesty that some Learned, Godly, and Moderate Divines of both perswasions indifferently chosen may be employed to compile such a new Form, as they there described, or at least to revise and effectually reform the old, &c. The King denies the first part, of making a New Liturgie;

gie; and tells them he had in his Declaration of Octob. 25. expressed his esteem of the Liturgie of the Church of England: but grants the second, and authorizeth certain persons to advise upon and review the said Book, comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies: And, if reason be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments, as should be thought needful, &c. with this special caution – *Avoiding as much as may be, all unnecessary abbreviations of the Forms and Liturgie wherewith the people are acquainted.* And how thankfully was this received? Mr. B. tells us, *That he drew up another Liturgie, a Petition for Peace and Concord, and a Reply to the Answer of the Bishops to their Exceptions:* This new Liturgie, though he confesseth it had many imperfections, and needed to be amended, being the hasty offspring of eight days; yet he calls it their more correct *Nepenthe*, and protests before God and men against the dose of Opium which was by the Bishops prescribed, (i.e.) the Liturgie which the King recommended to them) as that which plainly tended to cure their disease by extinguishing of life; and to unite them in a dead Religion. Dr. Reynolds (he confesseth) blamed them for offering a new Liturgie instead of additional Forms; but they would have their New (or) nothing: And tell the Bishops, *If*



*If these be all the abatements and amendments you will admit, you sell your innocencie and the Churches peace for nothing; (which is indeed somewhat cheaper than that for which his Brethren sold the King, and those other things to boote.) I have heard it credibly reported by some Reverend persons there present, that that Treaty might have had the desired effect of Concord, had not Mr. B. so obstinately resisted: Particularly, the Learned Bishop of Chester told Mr. Isaak Walton, that Dr. Sanderson said, There was a certain person there (Mr. B. knows whom he meant) that appeared to be so bold, troublesome, and illogical, as forced the meek Doctor to say, with an unusual earnestness, that he never met with a man of more pertinacious Confidence, and less Abilities, in all his conversation. And the Reverend Bishop of Worcester in his Letter, p. 13. affirms, That Mr. B.'s furious eagerness to engage in a Disputation to which his Brethren shewed themselves unwilling, did wholly frustrate the way that tended to an amicable and fair compliance.*

His *Petition for Peace* then, was like his Pleas now, meer threatning and reviling. Take heed (says he, p. 5.) how you drive men by Penalties upon that which they judge doth tend to their Damnation. And p. 14. The denial of their desires would renew all our troubles. P. 18. they tell the Bishops of unmerciful

*eiful Impositions.* Nor did they deal better with the King, whom they desired to leave out of his Declaration these words: *We do not in Our Judgements believe the practice of those particular Ceremonies we except against to be in it self unlawful; that is, we account them lawfull.* They tell the King in the close of the second Paper, *if he will grant those favours, it would revive their Hearts to daily and earnest Prayer for his prosperity: but p. 12. Should we lose the opportunity of our desired Reconciliation, it astonisheth us to foresee what doleful effects our Divisions would produce; which we will not so much as mention in particular, lest our words should be misunderstood.* And p. 117. of their Reply: *As Basil said to Valens the Emperour, that would have him pray for the life of his Son, If thou wilt receive the true Faith, thy Son shall live; which when he refused, he said, The will of God be done with thy Son: So we say too, If you will put on Charity, and promote the Churches peace, God will honour you; but if you will do contrary, the will of the Lord be done with your Honours.* Now what greater insolency could they have used, if the King had been as low as his Father, and the Bishops as obnoxious as Mr. B. and his Brethren; And who but Mr. B. could have thought by a *hasty work of eight days*, done in opposition to his Majesty's Commission, and  
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as he confesseth, against the advice of his more sober Brethren, to juttle out the Liturgy composed by many Martyrs and Confessors, and approved of by the Reformed Churches ever since the Reformation, as his Majesty tells him in that Declaration? To which, though they *now* say they would have submitted, yet would they not *then* at his Majesties request read any part of the Liturgy; though they confessed they could have used almost the whole: but instead thereof, his Majesty complains in that Declaration, of their *restless Spirits*, who continued their bitterness against the Church, and endeavoured to raise Jealousies against his Majesty; and unseasonably printed, published, and dispersed a Declaration to his Majesties reproach. Their whole *Petition* was a Pharisaical Remonstrance of *their own Godliness and Abilities*, and the *profaneness* of such as were not of their Perswasion; besides their frequent and fearful outcries of *Persecution* and *Sufferings*, when themselves had been the Persecutors for twenty years together, and as yet had suffered nothing but from their own guilty Consciences, and just fears.

Well might the Loyal Party have answered those Complaints, as once their Independent Brethren did: *Is there the least shew of Oppression, Sorrow, or cause of Complaint, except it be that you are not suffered to oppress, vex, and*  
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*gall your Brethren that joyn not with you? Can you feed upon nothing but the bloud of your Brethren, that (though you are as capable of all Preferments, even Bishopricks and Deanaries, as any of the Loyal Clergy) you complain of Slavery and Oppression, because you cannot enslave and lead into Captivity? Is this to kill you with the Sword, that you cannot (again) kill your Brethren with the Sword? See more to this purpose in the Pulpit-Incendiary, printed 1648. p. 45. Your Renowned Protector Oliver speaks home to you at the dissolution of the Parliament 1654. in these words: Is it ingenuous to ask Liberty, and not to give it? What greater Hypocrisie, than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops, to become the greatest Oppressors themselves so soon as the Toak was removed? And his Majesty in the Chapter concerning the Ordinance against Common prayer, to this effect: I see that those are the most rigorous exactors upon others to conform to their illegal Novelties, who were least disposed to the due obedience of lawful Constitutions: So that I know not whether they sinned more against their Consciences by violently opposing Our established Order, or violently imposing their own. We have one instance more of their dutiful behaviour to his Majesty, in a Pamphlet called *The due Account and Petition*, which was after the Debate; where they say, *We must needs believe,**

lieve, that when his Majesty took our consent to a Liturgie to be a foundation that would infer our Concord, you (i.e. his Majesty) meant not that we should have no Concord but by consenting to this Liturgie without any considerable alterations. Whereby they would cast the Odium of the Rupture on his Majesty, which they themselves notoriously caused; being resolved before-hand (their Profession in a Liturgy, and accepting his Majesties Commission only to make some reasonable Alterations and Additions, notwithstanding) to have a new, or rather no Liturgie; but to be left at liberty to use their own Liturgy, or extemporary Effusions in all the most Solemn Administrations. And whether their Hypocrisie or Insolency in dealing thus with his Majesty, to whom they owed their lives, were greater, let the Reader judge.

The Parliament having had long and late experience how troublesome and implacable such as Mr. B. were, proceeded to the establishment of the Church and publick Worship, excluding none but such as would exclude themselves: And as a signal of his Majesties impartial favour, he offered Bishopricks to three, Deanries to two or three; more and other Dignities were given to several sober persons that had been of another Perswasion. One Bishoprick was accepted; one (which I suppose was

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was Mr. B.) refused it. See p. 134. of *First Plea*. His reason I suppose was the same that he gave for not reading Common-prayer, p. 105. of *Sacr. Desert*. *Should the Ministers that have suffered so long but use any part of the Liturgie and Scripture-forms, though without any motive but the pleasing of God, and the Churches good, (it seems these Motives would not prevail for this Reason) what muttering and censuring would there be against them?* This bold man was afraid of the People. And in truth he has made it morally impossible for him to accept a Bishoprick, having often declared by word, and published it in print, *That the Office of a Bishop, as exercised in the Church of England, was Antichristian*. And saith in his *Method for peace of Conscience*, p. 389. *We had taken down the superfluous honour of Bishops as Antichristian; upon which (N. B.) the Devil set them to cry down also as Antichristian, Tythes, Maintenance, Priests, and Ministers: And moreover, that the return of such men would be a great plague to the Land, in Poster. to the True Catholick*, p. 335. And Mr. B. knows there is an ancient Canon, *That a man that had his hand in bloud, might not be a Bishop*. See p. 213. of his *History*. And p. 36. *A Government which gratifieth the Devil and wicked men*.

And now he begins to defame the Laws, as  
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he had formerly done the *Liturgie* : and not having other means, he discovers his impotent malice in writing a Prognostication, dated when by the Kings Commission we in vain treated for Concord, 1661. He observed, p. 40. That the *Sectarian Spirit was like Gunpowder, ready to take fire on such injuries* : And Mr. B. with his Prognostication, like *Guy Faux* with his *Dark Lanthorn*, is ready for the Exploit, and sorry onely that it is not done. He intimates the Clergy to be *proud, worldly, covetous, domineering, malignant, lazy, the plague of the world, troublers of Princes, dividers of Churches, that will (being Hypocrites as to Christianity and Godlineß) like Judas that loved the Bag better than Christ, make themselves a Religion consisting of meer Corpse, and the dead Image of true Religion*. See p. 12, 13. He cries out of *New Impositions, Subscriptions, and Oaths, words and actions which they believe to be against Gods Word*. Doth not this aim directy at the Laws? P. 14. He says, *Their Sufferings will make many otherwise-sober Ministers too impatient, and to give their tongues leave to take down the honour of the Clergie* : And this will stir up the people, and make them pray for the downfal of the Clergie, which they take to be enemies of God and Godlineß; and that to speak easily or charitably of such men, is but to be lukewarm and indifferent between GOD AND THE DEVIL, p. 20.

*Some ( of the Nonconformist Ministers ) will think these passions of the people needful to check the fierceness of the Afflictors : Some of the more injudicious hot-brain'd sort ( who are the greatest number ) will put them on, and make them believe that all Communion with any Conforming Ministers or Parish-Churches is unlawful , and that they are all temporizers, and betrayers of Truth and purity, that communicate with them ; and carry about among themselves false reports and slanders ; because they will think that the upholding of their Cause, which they think is God's, doth need the suppression of these mens Credit and Reputations, p. 25, 26. The godly and peaceable Conformists will get the love of the sober, by their Doctrine and Lives ; but will be despised by the Sectaries, because they conform ; and will be separated by the proud and persecuting Clergie, as leaning to the Dissenters ; and thereupon will be under continual Jealousies and Rebukes : And perhaps new points of Conformity shall be devised to be imposed on them, which it is known their Consciences are against, that so they also may be forced to be Nonconformists, because secret Enemies are more dangerous than open Foes : and so part of them will turn downright Nonconformists, and the other part will live in displeasure till they see an opportunity to shew it. And these are the likeliest to cross and weaken the worldly persecuting Clergie. This*

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is such a Prognostication, as that for which Mr. B. observes Mr. *Udal* was condemned in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, in an *Affize-Sermon* on *Psal. 2.* And it is no otherwise a Prognostication than (*Astrologers* observe of *Blazing-Stars*) they do irritate and dispose the humours and spirits of men to disorderly actions; to which the event shews that this Prognostication, and Mr. B.'s influence on the People, hath had a malign Aspect, not unlike the Prophecie of *Nostredamus's* Son, That a certain great City should be burnt; and to fulfil his Prophecie, did procure it to be set on fire.

My next Remark is on Mr. B.'s behaviour at *Kedderminster*, where the Bishop of *Worcester* publicly declared, That *he made the people believe that it was lawful for them to take up Arms against the King, and suffered or made them to scruple at those things which were lawful, which he himself confesseth to be lawful; and that he himself heard him to maintain such a Position as was destructive to the Legislative Power both of God and man; (viz.) That the enjoyning of things lawful by lawful authority, if they might by accident be the cause of sin, was sinful.* See the Bishops Letter, pag. 4, and 6. Now though the known integrity of the Bishop is enough to make all good men believe this Relation, yet the consideration of the

Premises puts the truth of it beyond all doubt or exception. Was this behaviour of Mr. B.'s a token of his Gratitude to those Bishops who gave him license to preach in their Dioceses; or to his Subscription to the Bishop of London (then *Skeldon*) to those terms of peaceableness which the Bishop accepted, and Mr. B. voluntarily subscribed? p. 12. of his late *Apologie*. If ever he did any thing toward publick Peace, he was drawn to it *invitâ Minervâ*, and soon retracted it; but to promote Divisions he laboured *manibus pedibusq;* with all his strength.

His Book called *The Cure of Church-Divisions* is the onely Work of Mr. B. that hath any thing of Moderation; and yet as if he were sorry for what he had done, at Mr. Bagshaw's exceptions against it, he says, *Doth it not speak against Church-tyranny, unjust Impositions, Violence, and taking away mens Liberties, and Rigour to Dissenters, from end to end?* p. 7. of his Defence. It seems it was expected of Mr. B. that he should have called the Bishops *sacrilegious Silencers of the faithful Ministry, Murderers of many hundred thousand Souls, perjurious, proud, tyrannical, covetous, formal Hypocrites, malignant haters of good men*, and then he had not incurred the blame of the people, p. 20. And to regain their good opinion of him, he hath since said all this again and again.

gain. Another part of Mr. B.'s Character appears in what was done about the Indulgence; which by a Book called *The peaceable Designe*, agreeing well with Mr. B.'s *Plea for Peace*, seems to have been procur'd by the joynt endeavours of the Papists, and those that call themselves Protestant Dissenters; in which Book, p. 71. is this Objection: *What shall we say then to the Papists?* Answ. *The Papist in our account is but one sort of Recusants, and the conscientious and peaceable among them, must be held in the same predicament with those among our selves, that likewise refuse to come to Common-prayer.* And p. 72. *As for the common Papist, who lives innocently in his way, he is to us as other Separatists, and so comes under the like toleration.* So that Herod and Pontius Pilate are confederate against Christ. But Mr. B. must lead the Chorus here also; for he much exceeds the Author of that Treatise, in his good opinion of the Papists: yet he says, Mr. Humphry is a man of latitude, and tyeth himself to no Party or Opinions of other men; And I (saith Mr. B.) so little fear the noise of the Censorious, that even now while the Plot doth render them most odious, say freely, 1. That I would have Papists used like men: And, 2. I would have no man put to death for being a Priest: 3. I would have no Writ de Excommunicato capiendo, or any Law compel them to our Communion and Sacraments.

And is not this to open the door for Papists and Fanaticks to enter together? If the Laws, how severe soever, cannot keep them out, would not this liberty bring them in? See *p. 19. of second Defence.* If you will not bring the Papists in, he is resolved, for ought I see, to go to them: for *p. 235. of first Plea,* he says, *It is but reasonable if on such necessity (i. e. the penalties for Nonconformity) they should accept of favour from any Papist that should save them, &c.* By which the Reader may judge, who is a greater friend to Popery, the *old Protestants*, who have made Laws to keep it out; or the *Dissenters*, who would destroy those Laws to let it in.

To put life into the languishing Cause, he inspires it with a doze called *Sacrilegious Desertion of the Ministry rebuked*; and declares, *That as they had preached formerly without leave, so they would do it much more now*; and says, *That though it had cost some excellent men their lives, yet nothing but death, or utter disablement, should make them desist.* So that his *Pleas* and his *Practice* before and since the Indulgence, shew that he owed the King no great thanks for it: Yet being advised by a moderate hand not to abuse that Indulgence, he rails at him most intolerably; (you shall hear it by and by:) I will onely ask Mr. B. why the neglect to administer the Holy Sacraments

craments was not as much *Sacrilegious Desertion of the Ministry* (whereof it is a chief Work) as the omission of preaching? For Mr. B. confesseth, *That he had not baptized any, nor administred the Lords Supper, for eighteen or nineteen years together; nor adhered to any Sect* (no not the *Sect* of Diocesan Bishops) *for twenty five years.* See p. 119. of Answ. to Dr. *Hinckly*: Which to me seems to be not onely a *Desertion of the Ministry*, but of *Christianity* it self. Certainly if he ought to do the one, he ought not to leave the other undone. *That he and others are Pastors to no Church, that he never gathered a Church, nor hath he constantly joyned in Communion with any Church,* Answ. to Dr. *Still*. Sermon. p. 64. 24. 62. 86. Yet p. 76. of his Book of *Concord*, he says, *I constantly joyn with my Parish-Church in Liturgie and Sacraments, and hope so to do while I live.* But if he thought it his duty to *preach*, it was his duty to *administer the Sacraments* also; for preaching was never esteemed the sole Work of the Ministers: And they that omit this Duty, do refuse to hear the *Universal Church of Christ*, as well as the *Church of England*: For by Canon Apost. the 9th, *Whoever of the faithful enter and hear the S. S. but stay not at Prayers and Communion, ought to be excommunicated as Disturbers of the Church.* All Churches in the Primitive times did on every Sun-

day celebrate this Holy Sacrament; and all the faithful were wont to receive it. It is also very observable, that when our Church was to be settled, that some of the Presbyterians moved to have that Rubrick struck out which obligeth the people to communicate three times yearly; whereas some modern Churches have found it necessary to declare as the Council of *Agatho* did, (which Mr. B. accounts one of the best Councils) *That those who receive not the Sacrament, ought not to be reputed as Christians.* And St. Cyprian saith, *This bread we crave every day, lest we who are in Christ, by the interposing of any grievous crime while restrained, and not communicating, should be separate from the body of Christ.*

And now prepare your ears against that nauseous *Billingsgate-language*, and barbarous *Censures*, wherewith Mr. B. answers his learned Adversary in his *Sacrilegious Desertion*, for want of Arguments, p. 6. *Railing Russian*, p. 13. *Selfish envious Conformists; the doleful pride and selfishness of the carnal part of the Clergie; a Silencing Diocesan*, p. 25. *Church-tearers*, p. 105. *Such Toys*, p. 31. *A few confident and silly Reasonings of Mr. Fulwood and other Phamphleteers; Usurpers*, p. 39. *Hear it now, for you shall shortly hear it from God*, p. 8. *I would give all the money in my purse to make me understand what the Church of*  
*England*

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England is, p. 35. *Foolish superstitious Priests*, p. 44. He talks of *Per and Pers*, p. 49. but lays his scene in *Utopia*, and says, *I know this is not our case in England, but if we must follow you into Utopia.* Lest the Reader should not understand this, he speaks plainer, p. 74. *I have been long of the opinion which you (viz. that are of a contrary Opinion) will one day pardon, that perjury, perfidiousness, and persecution, proud contending who shall be greatest, and covenanting never in certain points to obey Christ against the world and the flesh, is not the way of God,* p. 56, 57. *Such confidence upon such insignificant reasons, is a great dishonour to the wit and humility of the Author,* p. 59. *Our excellent Successours, that do nothing but see the peoples faces in the Church: Thou forbid Baptism and the Lords Supper to all that have not as large a swallow as your selves,* p. 60. *His want of common sense and modesty,* p. 65. *O with what face!* p. 66. He tells us, p. 9. of some of the *Nonconformists* principles and purposes: *They suppose that the Ministry doth not save men, as Wizards think that Charms do heal men by their presence, titles, names, or habits, by standing in the Reading-place or Pulpit, or being called the Parson of the Parish, or saying his set words over them when dead. (As if the Conformists did believe all this.)* P. 10. *They suppose that a greater number of the Conformable Priests*

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*Priests than they are willing to mention, do preach so ignorantly and dully in the Pulpits, and do so little of their private work besides, that there is great need of a far greater number of Assistants than all the present Nonconformists be. They are not able to confute the people, who tell them that their publick Priests are so defective in their necessary qualifications for their Office, as that they hold it unlawful to own such for true Ministers, and encourage them by their presence, or commit the care of their Souls to such. P. 11. They think that the ejecting (the Non Con.) from the Temples and Tythes did not degrade nor make them no true Pastors to their Flocks; and that the Magistrates putting another Parish-minister in possession of the Temple and Tythes, did not dissolve the fore-said relation. They think that the ejected Minister, foro Conscientiæ & Ecclesiæ verè sic dictæ, retaineth still his ancient relation to his Flock, and part of them schismatically separate from him, and joyn with another intruder that never had a lawful call. P. 14. They think that Conformity would be in them such a composition of hainous crimes, as they forbear to name, for fear of seeming accusers of others, and unpeaceable. P. 31. Look up man, without blushing; alas for these poor people that cannot try Sence from Nonsense. P. 61. His next bath no bounds, it grieveth me to read it. O Posterity, how will*



will you know what to believe ! P. 62. Here is much that would as handsomely serve Celsus, Julian, Porphyry, or Eunapius, p. 72. P. 25. I will not offend the Readers ears by giving them the names I think they deserve, but wish them to read 1 Thess. 2. 15. which in words at length he puts in his Title page, *They both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own Prophets, and persecuted us. And tell them, by what Names or Titles soever they be distinguished, that I, that am a dying man, would be loth to stand in their case before God: And if we were well agreed that there is indeed a God and a Christ, a Heaven and a Hell, we should easily be agreed in all the rest; (i. e.) Seeing you are not of Mr. B.'s mind, you are very Atheists, and in a state of Damnation.* ) P. 132. I must tell you, that we cannot but think that you need Repentance; great Repentance, (that your Souls yet, if possible, may be saved, p. 74.) for sinning more, and that by publick, deliberate, chosen, covenanted, ministerial sin, protesting against Repentance. I conclude this Collection of many such great Calumnies which that little Book doth abound with, with his impudent Challenge; *Come, and impartially debate the Case with us, who have been the greatest Causes of Protestant divisions, Conformists or Non-conformists.* These putrid, pestilential stinks and corruptions are so unlike the breathings of  
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of a mortified Christian, that the like never proceeded from any dying man, except such a one as hath been dying Twenty years together, of which this is a shrewd Symptome; and another is as bad, that (as they say of dying Beasts) he bites deadly, *Animamq; in vulnere ponit*. I challenge any man to shew in so little a Book, so great Pride, Malice, and Obloquy, on so slender occasion as the Indulgence, prepared by the means, and in favour of the Papists as well as the Presbyter. Mr. B. knew the person against whom he wrote to be a person of *great Learning and Moderation*, as he had acknowledged under his own hand in his Book of *Confirmation*, where he often quotes him; he calls him *The Learned Mr. Fulwood* in the Postscript, but now he is a *meer trifler*.

But there is yet *ultimus conatus naturæ*. And his restless Spirit grows more brisk and sparkling, as it is pouring forth from the crazy Vessel. By the great mercy of God, that most execrable Plot of the Papists to Assassinate the King (whom God hath hitherto by by a series of Miracles preserved) and the Church of *England*, against which the Gates of Hell have not, and we hope never shall prevail, was discovered, to the great joy of all true Protestants. And now while they are undermining the Foundations, Mr. B  
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( though a dying man ) lifts up himself, and gets on the top of the Fabrick, to throw it down with all his might. This polity he learnt of his Predecessors, who on the intended *Invasion* 88. and the *Gunpowder-treason*, when the Papists thought to have *swallowed us up quick*, took their advantage to thrust us into their Jaws, or at least to devour us themselves; if we should escape our other Adversaries. That he might act with less suspicion, and more success, he calls his Engines a *Plea for Peace*, which, as Dr. *Stillington* observes, might be better called, *A Plea for Discord and Division*; And another called *The true and only way of Concord*; so full fraught with impracticable Notions, and dividing Principles, as if his whole design had been to prove that there is no true way of Concord among the Churches, Dr. Still. But of this Book hereafter: Another Book claims precedency, whereof after great labour Mr. B. is delivered; but it proved a Monster full of Teeth and Claws, which he calls *Church-history of the Government of Bishops*; but is indeed ( though very partial ) a History of those Confusions which were raised in the Church by such as opposed the Orthodox Bishops. That the sight of this monstrous birth may not offend, let the Reader fortifie his eye-sight with what Mr. B. himself hath prepared: For, telling

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us what *History is credible*, p. 2. n. 4. of that Tract, *It ought to be*, saith he, of *One that is impartial, a lover of peace, and not ingaged by Faction or Interest to one side against the other; a calm and considerate man, not a passionate hasty Judge; a man of manifest Honesty, Conscience, and Fear of God; not a worldly, wicked, bloody, unconscionable man.* Now let the Reader consider whether this Character agree with our Author: And then let the Reader take that other Antidote in the Preface--*The Sectaries*, saith Mr. B. *who rashly separate from some Churches, because of some Forms, Opinions, or Ceremonies, which almost all Christians on Earth have used in the former purer Ages, and still use, should be more cautelous in examining their grounds, and should hardly venture to separate from any Church, for that which for the same reason would move them to separate from almost all Christians in the whole world, if not unchurch the Church of Christ.* And let the Reader satisfy himself whether Mr. B.'s *Model* be not such a Form. And may it not be said of Mr. B. as he says of Dr. Heylin? *He is so palpably partial, and of so malicious and bloody a strain, representing excellent persons as odious intolerable Rogues, that he is not to be believed?* Judge by this one passage, p. 120. *If our Neighbours, that commonly these thirty years last use the word God dam me,*  
*had*

## History of Separation. 111

*had put but thee instead of me, I should have suspected that the Councils and Bishops had made their Religion. To which add, p. 464. Have not the Ministers themselves been the principal instruments of taking down the Bishops, &c. ? And what have they got by it ?* I doubt not but the Reader will find the whole Collection to be a History of the Confusion and Bloudshed occasioned by discontented and ambitious Presbyters and their party, against the Orthodox, who suffered under Heathen, Arian, and other heretical Emperours, by Popes, Hereticks, and Schismatics, misapplied all to the Bishops and Councils ; and often speaks more favourably of Hereticks, viz. of Arius, the Novatians, and Donatists, who though they were usurping Presbyters, he calls them Bishops ; and through their sides strikes at the Sacred Office, p. 276. of his *Plea for Peace ; It was by Bishops striving who should be Chief, that the Donatists set up : Whereas the Donatists were discontented Presbyters. And in the Schisms of those times, the Bishops were almost ever the chief Cause.* The Almost will not save it from a Lye. But evident it is, whatever quarrel there was in all Church-history, wherein a Bishop was concerned, how Innocent, how Orthodox soever, Mr. B. makes him the cause of the Quarrel, and is his Adversary. Hereof I could give many instances,

ces, had not Mr. B. prevented me, having said and done enough to overthrow the credit of his History. However, I will shew the Reader a *Specimen* of Mr. B.'s Candour and Truth in relating Church-History. Doth not Mr. B. know (however he dissembles it) that *Arius* and *Aërius*, *Novatus* and *Novatian*, *Majorinus* Chaplain to *Lucilla* a Noble-man, with *Botrus*, and *Silesius*, who first opposed *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, and set up for Bishops by the help of *Donatus*, who succeeded them, and gave name to the Schism, were all Presbyters? Till they dub'd one another Bishops, and then with whole Armies opposed their lawful Bishops, who with great patience and constancy withstood their malice. Read the History of the *Donatists* lately set forth, and see how they used *St. Augustin* himself. Mr. B. may as well ascribe all the Rebellion and Outrages, all the Blasphemies and Faction that have been made within Forty years past, to the Bishops of this Land, whereto (it's well known) the *Presbyterians* opened the way, and led the dance, as to impute what he doth to the ancient Bishops; and indeed he is not ashamed to assert both these notorious falsehoods. Mr. B. asks the Question, p. 429. of his *Cure of Divisions; Who brought in the errors of the Arians, Eunomians, &c.* And he Answers,  
*They*

*They were Bishops or Presbyters:* He would be sure to speak one true word. I shall not trouble the Reader with all that Mr. B. writes of the *Arians, Nestorians, &c.* in that voluminous Book, but refer him to what he says more briefly in his other late Works; for he repeats it in many of them. P. 27. of his *Plea*, He would not have the *Arian Emperours* made worse than they were, because they were for Toleration of both Parties; nor were the *Arians* themselves like the *Socinians* (saith he) because they acknowledged all save the *Ὁμολογία*, (i. e.) save the Divinity of Christ, which was all then in controversie. How dangerously (saith he, as if he were pleading for the *Arians*) did *Justine* and most of the antient Doctors, before the *Nicene Council*, speak hereabout; and how certainly *Eusebius* and other great Bishops were *Arians*; and how the Council at *Ariminum* laid by the word *Ὁμολογία*, endeavouring reconciliation, I need not send you to *Philostorgus* or *Sondeus* (*Arian Authors*) for proof. If the *Conformist* should have said half so much, he and the whole Church should have smarted for it.

In the Dispute between *St. Cyril* and *Nestorius*, whether the *Virgin Mary* might be called the *Mother of God*, you may see how partially he describes both the Persons and Opinions, p. 271. of his *Plea*: *Nestorius* (saith he)

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*was a man of Study and Retirement, a poor garb and a strict life, (i. e. a Presbyterian) abhorring publick Contentions, and loving Quietness, till he got to be uppermost; and then he shewed a peevish Zeal against Dissenters, called Hereticks. Then for St. Cyril of Alexandria, whose Works praise him in all the Churches, Mr. B. hath scarce a good word for him, because he was the first Bishop that used the Sword, and persecuted the Dissenters: He was a man (saith he) of great parts, spirit, and power; but the Head of a turbulent People. As to their Opinions, the error of the Nestorians lay in his want of skill in speaking, saith Mr. B. and the Controversie was about words rather than matter. Most of the people were for Nestorius, and most of the Courtiers and Clergie against him; and so was the Emperour, who deposed Nestorius, and restored Cyril: but Nestorius returned to his Monastery, and there lived four years in peace and great reputation; but afterward was banished into foreign Countries, and died. I wonder why after four years he should be banished, if he had lived peaceably and quietly. Did not Mr. B. ever read how the Emperour Theodotius confirming the Decrees of the third General Council at Ephesus, commanding, That none should dare to keep, read, or transcribe the wicked books of the profane and sacrilegious Nestorius,*  
*but*



but search them out, cause them to be burnt publickly; and that none permit them to have any House or Field to hold private or publick Assemblies; and whoever adbered to Nestorius, should suffer the loss of his Goods? By which Edict (saith the Prefect) our pious Emperour knowing the Orthodox Religion to be the strength of the Empire, hath taken away all the seeds of Impiety. Edictum Theodosii in fine Concilii. I see no reason why Mr. B. should speak so favourably of Nestorius, though I have considered all that he writes, but that he might make his Readers think more contemptible of Cyril, who was so great, learned, and good a Bishop. Vincentius Lyrinensis, an approved Author, who lived neer that time, writes thus: *Infelix ille Nestorius subito ex Ove conversus in Lupum gregem Christi lacerare cepit; Cum enim hi ipsi qui rodebantur, ex magna adhuc parte Ovem crederent, morsibus ejus magis patebant. Nam quis eum facile errare arbitraretur, quem tanto Imperii Judicio electum, tanto Sacerdotum studio persecutum videret, Qui cum magno Sanctorum amore, Summo populi favore celebraretur, quotidie palam divina tractabat eloquia, & noxios quoque Judæorum & Gentilem confutabat errores.* This is as much as Mr. B. could say for him: But what follows? *Qui ut uni hæresi suæ aditum patefaceret, cunctarum Hærese-n blasphemias insectabatur,* cap. 16. and

cap. 17. *In audito scelere duos vult esse filios Dei; unum Deum, alterum hominem; unum qui ex patre, alterum qui sit generatus ex matre: atq; ideo asserit Sanctam Mariam non Θεοτόκον, sed Χριστοτόκον dicendam, quia scilicet ex eâ non ille Christus qui Deus, sed qui homo, erat natus. Quod si quis eum putat in literis unum Christum dicere, & unam Christi personam, non temere credat, hoc enim fraudulentiae causâ, & conceptus seu partus virginei tempore duos Christos fuisse contendit.* Who will not believe this Father, that lived in those days, a man of great learning and integrity, before a late prejudiced person that serves a Party? Another instance of Mr. B.'s racking Ecclesiastical History, to make it speak his sence against Bishops, is his account of *Novatus* and *Novatian*, one of which he calls *an ill chosen Bishop of Rome, i. e. Novatian*; though indeed they were both ambitious *Presbyters*: and *Novatus* an *African Priest* (saith Mr. B.) *went to Rome to make Novatian a Bishop*, p. 36. *when Cornelius was duly elected before*: Of which St. Cyprian saith, *Agnoscant atque intelligant Episcopo semel facto, & collegarum ac plebis testimonio & iudicio comprobato, alium constitui nullo modo posse*, Epist. 4. ad Cornel. For indeed *Novatian* was an ambitious *Presbyter* that contended against *Cornelius* to thrust him out of his Chair, for admitting those to his Communion who in the

time

time of persecution under *Decius* had denied the Faith, supposing that they could not repent after such a fall. In opposition to such, he calls his Faction the *Cathari* (which Mr. B. knows how to English.) This pure *Presbyter* sent for three *Rustick Bishops*, as my Author calls them, from *Italy*, to come to him at *Rome*, under pretence of mediating for him with *Cornelius* and the other Bishops. Being come, he entertains them with plenty of good Chear and Wine (which is still in fashion with that sort of people;) and when they had well drank, some of his Party force the Bishops to lay their hands on *Novatian*, and make him an *Utopian Bishop*: for it will puzzle Mr. B. to name his Title, though he call him an *ill-chosen Bishop of Rome*; which Title he gives him, onely to draw an Odium on the Bishops, though the great troubles brought upon the Church by their Errours and Schisms, were wholly the fruit of their envy against *Cornelius* the lawful Bishop of *Rome*. Of which *St. Cyprian* also gives a full account, who caused the meeting of some Councils to suppress them. Yet Mr. B. (such is his Zeal for Anti-Prelatical men) thus excuseth the matter: *It was Zeal against Error, which made both the Novatians and the Donatists run into Error*, p. 32. And though that long and sad Schisms did ensue, yet he thus excuseth it:

*The Rigour of the Novatians was increased by their offence at other mens sinful latitude and tepidity, p. 35.*

*Chap. 3. Mr. B. treats of the Council of Nice, and the Heresie of Arius.*

*P. 45. Mr. B. says, That Athanasius refusing to admit Arius to his Communion, caused much Calamities: And p. 46. They that had gathered Separate Churches, did communicate with Arius that they might be delivered from the persecution of a godly Bishop, (i. e.) from Athanasius, whom Mr. B. confelleth to be a godly Bishop: but being Bishop, and opposing the Arian Conventicles, he is a Persecutor. That you may see the Partiality of this Historian, I shall give you a brief History of the growth of Arianism: Arius a Presbyter, was condemned in the first General Council at Nice, for denying the Deity of Christ, making him a Creature; for which he was banished by Constantine, as the cause of great division and corruption in the Church. But there was a certain Presbyter who grew into so great familiarity with Constantia the Emperours Sister, as to perswade her that Arius had been abused by the Council, and did not hold the Opinions for which he was condemned: whereupon Constantine recalls Arius, and enquires into the truth of that report; and Constantia dying, recommends this Presbyter to the Emperour her*

her Brother, as worthy of his favour; and when *Constantine* died, this Presbyter carrieth the News to *Constantius*, that his Father had bequeathed the Eastern Empire to him: Which being what he hoped for, he received the Presbyter into his favour, and kept him in his Court; where first he infected some of the Eunuchs with that error, and by their means the Empress also, and so the Emperour himself. *Socrates* l. 1. 19. and l. 2. 2. This revived the Arian Faction: *Arius* is restored to *Alexandria*, from whence the multitude of his Followers having conspired the death of *Athanasius*, *Constantine* had removed *Athanasius* into *Gallia*, where *Constans* his Son then lived, who entertained him with some respect; and writes to his Brother *Constantius* to admit him again to *Alexandria*, or threatneth him with War, *lib. 2. cap. 18*. Whereupon *Athanasius* is restored, but his life is in perpetual danger, the *Arians* being more in number than the Orthodox. *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, a man of great age and learning, and a constant Assertor of the Truth, was shamefully whipped and tortured by them, *lib. 2. cap. 26*. And though they were condemned by the Councils of *Milain* and *Ariminum*, *Constantius* favours them, and threatneth the Councils. To him succeeded *Julian* the Apostate, then *Jovianus*, who reigned but seven months;

months; then *Valentian*, who admitted *Valens* an *Arian* to partake of the Empire: All which time the *Arians* exercised great cruelty not onely on the Orthodox Bishops, but against each other; for under them sprang up the *Novatians* and *Eunomians*, lib. 4. cap. 23. and lib. 5. cap. 20. who all agreed in the *Arian* Heresie, but persecuted one another: So did the *Macedonians*, lib. 2. cap. 13. and 35. and the *Nestorians*, who burnt the *Arian* Church at *Constantinople*, lib. 7. cap. 20. vexed the *Novatians* and *Macedonians*, lib. 7. cap. 31. And all this by the instigation of *Anastatius* a Presbyter, lib. 7. cap. 32. Yet all these Tumults are imputed to the Bishops, who all the while suffered from the heretical Presbyters, the true Ancestors of Mr. B.

*Majorum quisquis fuit ille tuorum,  
Aut Pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Chap. 7. Mr. B. treats of the *Tria Capitula*.

The *Tria Capitula* were three Chapters mentioned in the Council of *Chalcedon*, in which the *Nestorians*, who could not longer defend their Heresie under the name of its Author, sought to cloak it under the Name and Writings of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*; of *Theodore's* Writings against *St. Cyril*; and an Epistle of *Ibas* unto *Maris*. These made the  
*Tria*

*Tria Capitula*, for which Pope *Vigilius* and some of his Party appeared : But the Emperour *Justinian* and the Catholick Bishops appeared against them. Many Sectaries who were condemned under the name of the *Accephali*, disclaimed this Council ; others pretended it had approved of the *Tria Capitula*. Great divisions ensued hereupon. *Justinian* knowing that the Council of *Chalcedon* had exploded that Heresie, sends forth his Imperial Edict, wherein accursing the Authors and Abettors of those *Tria Capitula*, summons the fifth General Council of *Constantinople* ; at which the Pope refused to be present ; *noluit intercesse*, saith *Bellarmino* ; and the true reason was, because he favoured that Heresie, and approved not of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which was held without him, and did determine for the Prerogative of *Constantinople* against him. *Vigilius*, though he came not himself, sent his Decree which maintained that Heresie, and was confuted in the sixth Collation of the Council of *Constant*. And they set forth a most holy Confession of their Faith, consonant in all points to that which the holy Apostles preached ; which the four former Councils explained, and the holy Fathers with uniform consent maintained.

Now I would desire Mr. *Baxter* to resolve me, whether the blame of those Commotions  
which

which followed on this Dissention, is to be laid on the Emperour and the Catholick Bishops who sided with him in defence of the true Faith, against Nestorianism, as *Binius* and *Baronius* would have it; or on the Pope and his *Italians*, who pleaded for that Heresie; and together with the *Agnoites*, *Gainaites*, *Theodosians*, *Themistians*, and the rest of the *Acephali*, promoted and continued those Broils.

*Chap. 9.* consisting of about sixty pages, is spent about the worshipping of Images, whereof he makes the Bishops Patrons: Whereas many, both Emperours and Bishops, suffered very much as *Iconoclastes*, (*i. e.*) the destroyers of Images. Bishop *Jewel* challengeth the Church of *Rome* to shew but one Authority, during six hundred years of the Church, for worshipping Images, and is not yet answered. The rise of which in brief, was this: The *Arians* and *Donatists* having wasted the Church, made way for vast numbers of Infidels to enter in, who brought with them, and superstitiously honoured the Images of their Benefactors; and many ignorant Christians learned their customs: The Pictures of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* we read of in ancient History; but withal we read they were not permitted to be brought into the Churches. The opposition made against them, may be seen in the *Magdeburg*. In the year 754. the  
Bishops



Bishops disputed against them; and in a Council at *Constantinople*, consisting of 338 Bishops. How *Leo Isauricus* and *Gregory* Bishop of *Neocæsaria* opposed them, is too large to repeat. It was about the year 787. that *Irene*, who was Daughter to a Pagan King of *Tartaria*, gave publick countenance to Image-worship. She ruling as Empress in the minority of *Constantine* her Son, promoted this Pagan custom: for, as *Mr. Hales* observes, *Dux femina facti*, she was a woman of so tyrannous a spirit, that she caused the eyes of her Son *Constantine* to be put out; which struck a great awe into the Christians under her. One cause of her cruelty to her Son, being his opposing this Image-worship. But finding one *Tarasius* to be of her mind, she makes him Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and calls a Council at *Nice* consisting of 350 Bishops, most of them *Arians*; and so about the year 787. they decreed for Image-worship. But in the year 792. all was reversed by *Charles the Great* in a Council at *Frankfort*. One Decree mentioned by *Mr. B.* I shall remind him of; it is p. 213. *A man that had his hands in blood, must not be a Bishop.*

Another heresie which makes the Church-History to swell, is that of the *Monothelites*, of which *Mr. B.* speaks, *ch. 8.* And because he saith nothing of the rise of it, I shall. It was

was occasioned by one *John Philoponus* a Presbyter, who wrote subtilly concerning it, and drew many to his Opinion, *Anno* 517. but all the time that *Justinian* was Emperour, they hid themselves, and propagated their Heresie in Conventicles; for it was condemned by 175 Bishops, in the fifth Synod of *Constantinople*, and confuted by the Learned Bishop *Gregory Nazianzene*, and by 603 Bishops in the fourth General Council at *Chalcedon*, and in the sixth Synod of *Constantinople* by 170 Bishops. But after the death of *Theodosius*, *Philippicus* succeeded, of whose succession a *Monothelite* Monk had foretold him; and that if he would rescind the Decrees of the sixth Synod, and favour the *Monothelites*, he should raige long and happily. This made *Philippicus* to espouse that Cause; and presently he banisheth *Cyrus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and many Orthodox Bishops: He maketh one *John* a Presbyter Patriarch, and filleth up the vacant Bishopricks with Presbyters of that Faction; and then assembles them, and confirms that Heresie. But the Bishops of the Western Churches resisted it, and sent thundering Letters against it. And it is no wonder that the Orthodox Bishops did hide themselves under this Tyranny, or that *Philippicus* found Presbyters to make Bishops in their room, who defended him

him and the Faction: For it is well known how many such in our Age adhered to usurping Powers, and defended as great both State and Ecclesiastical Heresies, as this of the *Monothelites*, and would not permit the Bishops to appear. But if these Presbyters had taken the name of Bishops under *Cromwel*, as the *Monothelites* did under *Philippicus*, you might with as much truth have affirmed that innumerable Bishops did in the times of our Confusions defend Rebellion and Heresie, as, that the Bishops who suffered all manner of indignities from the *Monothelites*, did defend that errour, or raise those tumults. This *Philippicus* within a year and half was deprived of the Empire by the same Souldiers that set him up; who put out his Eyes, and left him to die in Prison as a Tyrant. These instances (for I remember that I am writing a Character of Mr. B. and not of the ancient Hereticks) may suffice to acquaint the Reader of the ingenuity of this man, who rails intolerably against others as corrupters of History, when it appears he had no other design in this Collection, but to serve his Hypothesis, and implacable malice against the Bishops, and inrage the people to set the Nation in a Flame. It is but a small matter for Mr. B. to sport himself in Church-History: He can bid open defiance  
to

to the Laws of the Land, which he calls *tearing Engines, and Enemies to Gods publick Worship, and ought to be disobeyed, because it is written, Whether it be better to obey God or man, judge ye.*

He begins with a modest complaint, *p. 101. of first Plea; It is not the sence of the Liturgie (in that they seem satisfied) but a Statute of Parliament which we doubt of: it seems insufficient, if not impertinent, to tell us what is taken for the sence of the Church; for the doubt is, what is the sence of the Parliament, which we cannot otherwise know, but by their plain words, till they will otherwise declare their meaning; (i.e.) They must declare a meaning contrary to their plain words. But Mr. B. speaks plain enough, Plea the first, That the Laws required of them such Subscriptions, Covenants, Declarations and Practices, as they durst not do, because they feared God. A strange Parliament, to make so many Lawes as a man that feareth God cannot obey! If Mr. B. had any fear or reverence of men, he would not thus reproach the Governours, and defame their Laws, and all the while cry out of Persecution. But what are those impious Laws? This you may find in another Book called, *A search for the English Schismatick*; where he states the case between the *Diocesan Canoneer, and the present meer Non-confor-**

conformists; and though he determine not (as he says) which of them is the Schismatick, yet he makes the Book to be a pair of Spectacles for the Purblind to discern it, p. 43. This is just as he dealt by his first Plea, where he tells us he will not urge the Case, but mention matters of Fact onely: Yet in his Book of Concord he says, *To answer the earnest demand of our Reasons (against Conformity) by you the Lord Bishop of Ely, I have published an Historical Narration, &c.* How did this answer the Bishops earnest demand of Reasons, if it did not contain them, when Mr. B. says that was the end of publishing that Book? Any one that useth Mr. B.'s Spectacles may see they were his Reasons, though he might well be ashamed to call them so. But as for those Spectacles that will so plainly discover the *English Schismatick*, a very skillful Artift hath turned into a *Looking glass*, which if Mr. B. be not afraid to make use of, he may thereby see him whom he pretends to search for: it is called, *A Discourse about Church-unity, in defence of Dr. Stillingfleet.* The Laws opposed, are such as were made on mature deliberation, to secure our peace: The Act for Uniformity and renouncing the the Covenant: The Declaration, that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever, &c. The Book last mentioned, shews his malice

to

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to the Parliament, in making false and odious representations of them to the People, p. 457. It is scarce worth the notice, that he

P. 13 of his *Search.* *says the Parliament was drawn in by the Convocation to make those Acts: this is but Scandalum Ma-*

*gnatum.* He comes neer to Blasphemy, p. 107 of his *Third Defence*, where he pleads for excusing the ignorant people, who, when divisions fall out between King and Parliament, do doubt which it is that should be obeyed: (He adds) *Christ was drawn by Hypocrites to pay tribute to Cæsar, rather than offend*; as if our Saviour did what he never intended, or really approved, to comply with Hypocrites. And who can wonder if he that speaks thus of the Master, should not stick to revile his Disciples, making the Conformists so many deliberately perjured persons; and, which is in his own Language *Mendacium magnum, That about Six thousand persons that had gone the other way, did declare their assent and consent to a Book which they never saw.* p. 69 of his second *Defence*, Mr.

Preface to Di- *B. complains, That at such time*  
ocesan Bishop. *as he was turned out of all, he was*  
*never in so good a condition as*  
*to keep a Man-servant (except when he tra-*  
*velled) nor a Maid-servant, except an Old*  
*woman to provide him necessaries; and lived in*  
*some*

*in some upper Rooms of another mans house: and yet (he says) he built a Tabernacle in St. Martins to preach in himself, p. 55. of his Second Defence. He hoped, it seems, to gain a reputation among the factious, of being their great Centurion, who loved their Nation, and built them a Synagogue. But it is very observable, that if at such time as Mr. B. was turned out of all, he was in so low a condition, that he got well by his Nonconformity, being able to part with a considerable sum to build Tabernacles. One Intrigue I find darkly delivered, p. 250. of his First Plea: Even Bishops (saith Mr. B.) need to be remembered, that while the Wheel is turning, the upper side should not tempt men to forget what side will be uppermost shortly and for ever. The words are ambiguous, like the old Oracles, and may be interpreted *pro captu lectoris*; but whether he means the Revolutions of Providence, as by the turning of the Wheel seems most proper, or the Divine Judgement at last, it favours of equal Pride, Malice, and Uncharitableness. In Mr. Corbet's Funeral-sermon, p. 33. preach't by Mr. B. he speaks more plain: *It seems (saith he) there is some great evil to come, when God takes away the best: yea, if it should be a forerunner of a better state, yet all save two of the old stock that dishonoured God perished: And it was by bloody**

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*Wars that Joshua and the new GENERATION were to possess the Land of Promise. But the Oracle is expounded by other Cabalistical Rabbies, who tell us boldly, the time of the Episcopal persecution is but short: And on that confidence invite those whom Mr. B. calls the passive Conformists, to come over to them, promising them a kinder entertainment than they have had from their Brethren of the Conformity: Spes est fore ut Fanatici quas vacant, utamur illis aequioribus, saith the Celeusma, p. 34. There is now good hope that we whom they call Fanaticks may shew them more favour. Now whether these men be not engaged in some Plot for the extirpation of the Ecclesiastical Government by Law established, to which end they so importunately plead for the obligation of the Covenant, let the Reader judge. Time may discover what an ingenious man hints in his Defence of Dr. Still. p. 68. I will tell Mr. B. a secret which I have heard, but hope he will not put me to prove it. That the Parliament made good Laws, she Papists out of a pretended reverence to tender Consciences, hindred the execution of them, and some leading Fanaticks had private encouragement (to say no more) to set up a mighty cry of Persecution, to cast all the odium on a persecuting Church and Diocesan Canoneers. Dr. Owen noses this hint: Some have*



have reported (says he) that some of the Nonconformists at least do receive, or have received money from the Papists to act their affairs, and promote their interest; which he (very angrily) calls, a *pusill Calumny*, a *malicious Falshood*, a *frontless Lye*; and for himself, he avows, that never any person in Authority, Dignity, or Power in the Nation, or any that had any relation to publick affairs, nor from them, Papist or Protestant, did once speak one word to him, or advise with him about any Indulgence or Toleration to be granted to the Papists. He says not that he never received any Money to promote a general Toleration, which he (thinking himself particularly reflected on) might have done in few words. And my Author desires Dr. O. to resolve him why a Fast was appointed by a certain Independent Pastor at that time on the fifth of November, which (as he notes) is no Popish Festival. 'Tis a miserable shift which the Doctor useth, speaking at large of the plain, open, uncontrollable Evidence which the Nonconformists always gave, and continue to give, of their faithful cordial adherence to the Protestant Religion and Interest in the Nation; whereas ever since Forty one, they have notoriously scandalized, and as much as in them lay, ruined the Protestant Religion and national Interest.

His dealing with Mr. *Cheney* is most unchristian; for in the Preface of his *Third Defence*, he judgeth him a godly serious man; yet, saith he, *his Book is so dismal a piece in its extraordinary privation of common Reason, Truth, Charity, Tenderneſs, and Modesty, that I am constrained to think that honest man is diseasedly Melancholy*: and reports, that *his Book is cast away as a fardle of dotage and shamelesſlyes*, p. 2. of Second Part. Yet if a sober Reader be admitted to judge, this melancholy man hath so provoked Mr. *B.*'s scholar, that he seems quite to have lost his Reason, and betakes himself to Railing. One argument Mr. *Cheney* may well boast of, which Mr. *B.* calls his *Catholicon*, concerning a confident tenet of Mr. *B.* That the *Acts for Uniformity and Prefaces* are parts of the *Book of Common-prayer*, to which we are to declare our assent, &c. Now it is said in a Preface concerning the Service of the Church, *That forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same; to appease all such diversity, if any arise, and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this Book, the parties that so doubt, or diversly take any thing, (as do now the Conformists and Nonconformists; for Mr. B. says, they could do and declare as the*

the Conformists do, if they could get the sence of the Acts, &c. to be expounded so as the Conformists understand them) (N. B.) shall always resort to the Bishop of the Diocess, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same; so that the same Order be not contrary to any thing contained in this book: And if the Bishop of the Diocess be in doubt, then he may send for the Resolution of the Archbishop. Mr. B. answers, That the words make not the Bishops Expositors of the Law or Book, as Judge, but as a Teacher onely. Mr. Cheney replies, Any intelligent man may help the ignorant to understand the things in the book; but the Bishops are made decisive Judges, to order in what manner to understand, do, and execute all (doubtful) things in the book, p. 212. And p. 213. he tells Mr. B. The late Covenanters had not such security for their Consciences, in taking that Oath in a sense varying from the precise Letter, as the Conformists have for their Subscriptions, &c. And thus the melancholy man beat the Conjurer out of his Circle, and in his third Defence takes no notice of it.

As for Mr. Hooker, how contemptibly doth he speak of him, p. 74. saying, That a long tedious discourse in him hath as much substance as one might put into a Syllogism of six lines. And in his Preface to the Answer to Dr. Still. I am, says Mr. B. past doubt, that

Richard Hooker, Bishop Hall, Bishop Usher, were they now alive, would be Nonconformists.

In the year 1681. comes forth Mr. B.'s Apologie for the Nonconformist Ministers, in justification of their preaching against Law. This he directs to the Right Reverend Bishops of London, Lincoln, Hereford, Carlisle, St. Davids, and Peterborough, and others of their moderation, in some hope, though evil men and deceivers wax worse and worse. What his hope is, he tells them, If the ancient Christians might present their Apologie in hope to Heathen Emperours, may I not so much more to Christian Bishops? You are more sensible than we, with what deep sense men will shortly hear, In as much as you did it to one of the least of these my Brethren, you did it unto me. See his charity to those whom he calls our best Bishops! But in p. 233. he thus concludes: And now we humbly lay these Petitions at your feet, and beseech you for the souls of many hundred thousands, that you who call your selves their Pastors, and the Fathers of the Church, will not deny them the bread of life. We beseech you to come out of your Palaces a while, and be familiar with the people, and converse with all the poor of the Parish, and dwell in some Country Village as we have done, (who chose the greatest Cities and Towns) that you may not see many hundred thousands damned by your means, and you have nothing to say

say when it is too late, but a non putaram: That the instances of the Obduration of Pharaoh and the Pharisees, make you not afraid, lest wrath come upon you to the utmost, while you please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding Christ's Labourers to preach to the ignorant and impenitent, that they may be saved, 1 Thess. 2. 15. And O that God would make them sensible how many thousand persons damnation is like to be charged upon them for what they have already done, for seventeen years hindring so many faithful Ministers! I must profess, if it were the last word that I should speak in the world, that I had rather be the basest scavenger, yea, and suffer many deaths, than be found at the Judgment-seat of Christ in the place and guilt of those of you who have done what is done against the Gospel and Church of Christ in this Land: Doth not the Reader blush for Mr. B. to read such arrogant Censures from a dying man concerning his betters? and all this too causelessly, as I shall prove out of his own words. He asks the Question, p. 236. Why I write all this to you, and not to his Majesty and the Parliament? I answer, It is not them, nor any of their Laws or Actions, which in all this book I intend to speak against. (Mend. Mag.) For though he had indeed done it sufficiently in other, yet this Book was penned on purpose to justify the preaching of Non-

conformists, though forbidden by Law. P. 102. He raiseth the Objection of *preaching in Cities, &c. against Laws.* And Answ. *Did not the ancient Christians also disobey a lawful power when forbidden ? &c.* As if Christian Magistrates were to be reputed as the Heathen Persecutors. But to omit this, p. 104. he says (N. B.) *No Bishops have silenced us by Spiritual Government that we know of, but onely as Barons by the Secular Laws, to which they gave their Votes,* (and he acknowledgeth) *all did not.* And if any shall read the Preambles to those Acts, he may plainly see, the cause of making them was not onely the late dreadful experience which the Nation had of the Confusions caused by the preaching of such men, but their present endeavours to reduce us to the like again; which (all those Acts notwithstanding) they are still labouring for. This is evident, that Mr. B. though he were ordained by a Bishop, and subscribed, (though as he confesseth, *he had not read the Book of Ordination, nor exactly weighed what he subscribed to,* p. 59. for it seems, he was a *passive Conformist*, and one that came into the Church to find a better opportunity to pull it down;) he did partake with Mr. Pryn in an Antipathy against *Lordly Prelacy*, and glorieth in being settled the *Antisignanus Presbyterorum*, p. 11. And p. 6. he tells us of one *Fenne*, a famous

famous Country-Nonconformist, who with a loud voice would say Amen to all the Prayers in the Liturgie, except that for Bishops; to which his silence was accounted a dissent. Doubtless Mr. B. is of the same mind; he cannot pray for them, lest it should seem a compliance with Church-tyranny, and a frame of government destructive of the Churches Ministry, p. 241. and with such persons as professing themselves Fathers of the Church, are grand Enemies of Christ and Souls, and the Captains in the Army of the Devil, p. 243. I have heard a late report of a Rebel in Scotland, who being under condemnation, was put in mind of begging pardon, and to say, God bless the King: but his Answer was, He would not purchase his life at so dear a rate. Let the Reader judge how neer Mr. B. approacheth that temper, who will not, and cannot indeed pray for the Bishops as such, but would rather suffer many deaths, than be in their case, &c. How amazing a passage is that, p. 135. When you are in the dust, the world will not be afraid of you, but freely tread upon you, Hic Jacet, (Mr. Love did as bad by Archbishop Laud while he was alive) and cast up your bones to make room for others, and talk of you and your acts as freely as King Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, Bishop Bonner and Gardner, are now talked of. As if our Bishops were the successors of those, and not of Crammer.

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*Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and other Martyrs of that Age, who died for the defence of that Reformation, which our Bishops still defend against both Papists and Fanaticks. But, Etiam post mortem invidia:* How solicitous is dying Mr. B. to bequeath a double portion of his Anti-Prelatical Spirit to the people; who by prophesying what they will be, tells them what he would have them to be; (*i. e.*) *Perpetual and implacable Enemies to the Bishops,* p. 187. And in his Prognostick; to which he refers, how often doth he croak over his Cant of Perjury, a sin meet for none but utterly debauched Consciences, and such as threatneth dreadful ruine. Such principles and practices would make us guilty of the perjury and impenitence of many hundred thousand persons, p. 154. And p. 219. *Aggravated perjury, deliberate lying, rebellious profession of disobedience to God, owning great and publick sins, corrupting holy Worship, &c.* P. 221. *The sins which we fear (viz. in Conformity) be of the greatest sort that Hell suggesteth, perjury, and owning the perjury of thousands, and doing that which is equivalent to the preaching of impenitency, and saying, Repent not, for I declare it is no sin, and lying deliberately, and making a publick Ministerial profession of Usurpation and Church-corruptions; and of our resolution never to obey God in doing any duty of ours in order to a Reformation,*



tion, &c. Will any man believe that Mr. B. is so grievously persecuted, who hears him thus affronting the Laws, and reviling and provoking Authority? P. 200. *It may be your great Patrons may die, or fall, or forsake you; and then your hearts are broken. It may be death* ( he seemeth to speak of a violent death, as p. 204. *One Felton may end the great Duke of Buckingham, p. 205. Or they may meet with such Executioners as Cardinal Beton ) may enter into your Families, and make you think what blood-thirstiness doth tend to. And you must consider also, that if blood or destruction be the means you trust to, you must set up a Shambles or Trade of butchery, and make it the profession of all your lives, &c. which I abhor to relate what he there talks at large. And p. 226, 227. The world already thinks that the Clergie are so covetous, proud, and envious, that like the great Dog that hath got the Carrion, snarls at every little Dog that looketh at them, suspecting they come to take some from him: it is the common opinion, that the Clergie are the Incendiaries and Troublers of the world; and that the worst Princes left to themselves, are not half so cruel against the faithful preachers and practisers of Christianity, as if they persecuted it (eo nomine) as the proud and covetous Clergie are. Now that it hath been Mr. B.'s work to effect this temper in the people, he gives us this instance,*

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besides what I might mention in *London* and *Kedderminster*, p. 90. I love to instance where I dwell, and see because of certainty. This Market-town of *Barnet* ten miles from *London*, was so extreemly addicted to your way, so impatient of the *Directory* and *Ministry* now cast out, that one who was their *Minister* in times of usurpation told me, he was fain to leave them, and professed he was really afraid lest they would have put him into the *Grave*, and buried him alive, for burying a Corpse (without Common prayer) according to the *Directory*: And now the case is so much altered, that though the Town consists so much of Inns and Ale-houses, a private meeting near the Church is so much crowded as the Churches were, and the Church is almost empty. *Egregias vero laudes, & spolia ampla!* the Inns and Alehouses are become *Conventicles*, by Mr. B's Reformation, and the Church forsaken.

From p. 197, to 210. you have a continued cry of the bloudiness of Bishops, comparing them to *Foxes, Wolves, and Kites*, that live on flesh, and devour those that are better than themselves, p. 201. Yet, contrary to all this clamour, he says, p. 104. *No Bishops have silenced as by spiritual Government, (i.e. as Bishops) but onely as Barons by the Secular Laws to which they gave their Votes, which yet all did not.* Yea, Mr. B. acknowledgeth their

their favour to himself in particular: *For my part, (saith he, ibidem) I have one or two of their Licenses never recalled nor nulled.* Are these men such horrible persecutors, who did no more than the whole Nation in Parliament have done for peace sake? yet all their Silencing and Sufferings are charged most invidiously on the Bishops, as if it were done by their sole authority: for one reason why they cannot give over Preaching is, p. 241. & 11. *It will be an encouraging compliance with Church-tyranny, to give over preaching as oft as Bishops forbid us, because we will not take their Oaths, and be stigmatiz'd with their PER.* The Bishops as Bishops require no more now, than what was required when Mr. B. and others subscribed at their Ordination; and they are most likely to bear the PER, who act contrary, not they who act conformably to their Subscription. The great cry of Perjury is raised in favour of the Covenant: Yet Mr. B. p. 112. of his *Apologie*, says, *I never heard abjuring (the Covenant) was required of the Ministers: they are onely to subscribe, That there is no obligation on them or any other person to endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church.* And can this be thought a sufficient reason for Mr. B. a man of 74 years old, to cry out as a Child that hath fancied a Bug-bear,

bear, till he puts himself into dangerous fits, and affrights all the Neighbourhood?

So bold and bloody are his accusations against the Bishops and Clergie especially, for Persecution and Perjury, that if a Stranger should read them, he might think them meer *Cannibals* that lived on Humane flesh, or incarnate fiends that delighted in Sacrifices of blood; though Mr. B. all the while knows them to be very innocent and tame persons. For though he represent them as *Lions greedy of prey*, yet dares he pluck them by the Beards, and disgorge his filth in their mouths; and after all imaginable provocations, trusts himself between their Teeth and Claws, as he is pleased to phrase it. So great a Master of Discipline is Mr. B. But though he deal thus with the Bishops, yet he should not make so bold with the King and Parliament, and their tearing Engines of the Laws, as to write whole Volumes in defiance of them.

When the two *Cromwells* were on the Throne, he taught a Doctrine quite contrary to his *Apologie for their practice* now under King Charles. Then he taught us, That God never instituted Churches to be kept up in disobedience to those Christian Magistrates which he commands us to obey upon pain of damnation, P. 352 of his *H. Commonwealth*. And The

319. That disobedience to our Rulers, is in  
 Ministers double treason and wickedness. And  
 240. These, That it is necessary to the Churches  
 peace, that no private Congregations may be gathe-  
 red, or Antichurches erected, without approbation  
 or toleration from the Magistrates: And that if  
 private Assemblies be permitted unlimitedly,  
 then, 1. It will be impossible to restrain Here-  
 sie, Infidelity, or Impiety: Yea, 2. They may  
 meet to plot against the Magistrate. And in  
 Assemblies whatsoever (he means besides those  
 of the Parish Church) are to be allowed by the  
 Magistrate. And Thes. 263. If Magistrates  
 forbid Ministers to preach or exercise the rest of  
 their Office in their Dominions, they are to be o-  
 beyed; as he instances in David and Solomon  
 taking down and setting up Priests, and or-  
 dering Officers in the house of God. Were  
 the two Cromwells such as David and Solomon,  
 to be intrusted with the house of God? and is  
 King Charles like Jeroboam, whose interest it  
 was to suppress the true Worship of God, and  
 permit Calves to be set up at Dan and Bethel?  
 I would fain see Mr. B's Reasons for the Uni-  
 formity of the Churches then, more than now;  
 and wherein Oliver or Richard did more pi-  
 ously, faithfully, and prudently exercise the  
 Government, than King Charles. I know it  
 will grate on Mr. B's spirit to have his Theses  
 so often urged; seeing he hath desired the  
 whole

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whole book may be taken as *non Scriptus*; and that he retracts *some things* (though he adds) *not all*, nor tells us any particulars. But, *Quid verba audiam, quum facta videam?* To what purpose serves a *Protestation* against plain matters of *Fact*, and dayly practice, whereby Mr. B. still vindicates many ill things delivered in that book? which he doth expressly also in the close of his Preface to the *Second Plea*, where he affirms, *That in all the times of Usurpation he said and wrote, that the Kings person is inviolable, and to be judged by none, either Peer or Parliament; and that neither the King may destroy nor hurt the Kingdom, nor the Kingdom the King.* And then adds, *That the very book accused (viz. the H. Commonw.) goeth on such principles, and bath not a word meet to tempt a man in his wits to this accusation.* The contrary to which hath been often rehearsed, to Mr. B.'s great regret. And his Brother Dr. O. rightly tells him, *That they who will take liberty to speak what they please, must be content to bear sometime what will displease.* And I would desire him to reconcile the former *The- ses* of the Obedience of Ministers under Cromwel, to his late Doctrine of resolved Disobedience to our present Governours. For p. 226. of his *First Plea*, he teacheth, *That Pastors preached against the will of Princes for three hundred years.* And p. 26. *That God wrought*  
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*Miracles to justify such Preachers when forbidden by Christian Princes, who spake freely after their Tongues were cut out; That there is a wo unto them if they preach not, and many woes to them that shall forbid them; which is the subject of his Apologie.*

Can Mr. B. wonder that no man answers these Books of his, when the smoak, and flame, and stink of them is so horribly mischievous and inaccessible, as if it came forth from the Bottomless-pit? And this is the work of his Fellow-labourers, of whom he says, p. 163. *There is not this day on earth a more conscionable, godly, faithful party of the Ministers of the Gospel, than those that are now ejected, silenced, Nonconformists in England: And his testimony (he speaks it of himself) shall be believed, when the Defamers and Calumniators shall not.*

These Books (and some other, of which hereafter) he covers over with much combustible matter, prepared many years past, against such false and bloody Plotters (i. e. the Bishops) as would perswade the King and People that the Nonconformists are Presbyterians and Fanaticks: That it was such Presbyterians that killed his Father; and that their principles are rebellious, and that they are plotting a Rebellion and his death; and lastly that this is the Genius of the Parliament. I hope, what-

ever Mr. B's may do, no other mans Conscience doth accuse him of such horrid crimes. All this we have in the Title-page of his *Second Plea for Peace*: But as the Learned Doctor observed of the *First Plea*, it looks as if he had designed these Books on purpose to represent the Clergie of our Church as a company of notorious lying and perjured villains. These and divers other Fire-brands he fixeth in the top of the Fabrick, as if that could not be purged but with fire, pretending it was guilty of many heinous sins in the constitution of it: And when that Reverend Doctor endeavoured to quench those Juniper-coals which had well-nigh set all in a flame, he flies in his face, charging him with *pleading for presumption, profanation, usurpation, uncharitableness, and schism*, p. 73. of his *Answer to the Dr's Sermon*. Again, when the Dr. said, *that preaching in opposition to the Laws established, is contrary to the Doctrine of all the Nonconformists of former times*; Mr. B. replies, p. 21. *This Assertion is so rash and false in matters of notorious fact, that it weakeneth his reverence of the Doctors judgement in matters of Right*, p. 8. So that the Doctor might well say that he wrote that Book in a continued fit of anger. And how could it be otherwise, seeing that, as Dr. Burnet relates of the Earl of Rochester, when God gave him a sight of his sins,



sins, that he confessed he had been drunk five years together: So Mr. B. had been distempered with an habit of wrath and rage against the Government of the Church ever since he was Nineteen years old; how could he chuse but write with the spirit of Gall and bitterness against such an Adversary as would dissect him alive, and discover all the Distempers of that dying man? And what could Mr. B. do less than call the Doctor's Sermon a *Schismatical Sermon*, that would so divide Mr. B. that makes Union impossible in any Church but what he himself shall give being and union to? And yet this man of wrath is angry with himself, that he was not more angry with the Doctor: For p. 12. of *Second Defence*, I profess (says he) *I felt so little passion in writing that Book, that I think verily I sinned all the while for want of a livelier sense of the sin and hurt which I was detecting by my Confutation.* And in his Title-page, dividing the Doctor's Book into *Accusations, Reasonings, and History*, he pronounceth them all *untrue*; i. e. (in plain English) *You lie, Sir, in all that you have written.* Perhaps Mr. B. may not account this *Passion*, but *Zeal*; And his admirers say, he is a *stranger to Spite and Anger*; but he hath a *very quick and earnest temper of mind, and his stile very is keen and pungent.* Yea, and they think it lawful for him too;

to make the Scripture serve his passion, and rail in holy Language; for doubtless his Disciples think that in the Title-page, 1 Tim. 6. 5, 6. well applied to the Dr. *Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness; from such withdraw thy self;* which in plain English is, that the Dr. is one of those men, and you are bound to have no communion with him: For Mr. B. (though under another name) represents the Dr. to be a *most unskilful, proud, partial, obstinate, cruel, impertinent Adversary*. But as Mr. H. says, in defence of Mr. B. *Some men have humours and ways of their own*. And this, it seems, is the proper humour of that Party; They think with *Jonah*, they do well to be angry, that God hath spared us so long; and because he suffered their *Gourd* to spring up and cover their heads for a time, whereof they were exceeding glad, now that he hath suffered a *Worm* to strike it, and make it wither, and the *Wind* and the *Sun* beats on their heads, they are desperately angry for their *Gourd*, and justify their anger even against God; they do well to be angry even unto death, *Jonah* 4. 9.

His Treatise of *Episcopacy*, he says in the Title-page, *was meditated 1640. when the &c. Oath was imposed; written 1671. and published 1680. by the call of Mr. H. D. and the importunity*

importunity of our Superiours, who demanded the reason of our Nonconformity: The design was, the concord of all true Protestants who can never unite in the present impositions, and for necessary reformation of Parish-churches, and those abuses which else will keep up in all Ages a succession of Nonconformists; and to give an account why we dare not covenant by Oath or Subscription to endeavour the (amending) alteration of the Church-government, &c. (i.e. in plain English) against an Act of Parliament. P. 140. of his second Part, we have this pathetic Exclamation: *Alas Lord, How long shall Christs enemies (the Bishops) be Pastors of his Flocks? and the seed of the Serpent be the great instrument that must break the Serpents head; and the lovers of sin be they that must be the suppressers of it; and those employed to teach in Knowledge, who themselves will not know; and to preach up Holiness, that will not endure it?* And p. 124. *The truth is, that is an excellent person to us, who is an odious and contemptible person to the Prelates. If he will make the people believe that Presbyterians are Rebels, and Disciplinarians are seditious brain-sick fellows, living in hypocrisie: And that praying without book, and much preaching, is Fanaticism; and that none are worthy to preach the Gospel who will not swear to be true to the Prelatical interest: That Drunkenness*

kenneſſ in a conformable man is a tolerable infirmity; and that their ignorantest Nonſence is fitter to ſave Souls and edifie the Church, than the labours of the Holy and Learned Nonconformiſts: That Calvin was a Rogue. (as Salmaſius ſaid of the Learned Dr. Hammond:.) That Cartwright and Amesius were diſcontented factious Schiſmaticks, unworthy to preach or be endured; this is a Son of the Church, and an excellent perſon. P. 213. of the ſecond Part, Conſect. 3. He ſays. That to Swear, Subſcribe, &c. That though Millions ſhould ſwear to endeavour a Reformation of Episcopacy in in their places and callings by lawful means (which is his addition, there is no obligation lieth on any one of them to to endeavour it) the Lord have mercy on that Land, City, or Soul that is guilty of it. And Conſect. 4. All carnal Intereſt, and all carnal Reaſon, is on the Dioceſans ſide; and all the luſts of the heart of man, and conſequently all that the Devil can do; and therefore while carnal Chriſtians make a Religion of their Luſts and Intereſts, and Pride, and Covetouſneſſ, and Idleneſſ are more predominant than the fear of God and the love of Souls, no wonder if the Dioceſans Cauſe prevail with ſuch. Conſect. 7. Take but from ſuch Prelates the plumes it hath ſtollen from Magiſtrates and Presbyters, and it will be a naked thing and ſimple name. He ſays in the Preface,

Preface, *The Sufferers will call the Prelates Persecutors, Wolves in Sheeps clothing, who are known by their fruits, their teeth and claws.* P. 163. part I. *It is the Prelacy that maketh almost all the Sects that be in England this day; and when they see what Ministers, and how many hundred of them are silenced, and what fellows are set up in their stead, they think they can never fly far enough from such Prelates: and we that dwell among them do take them that dislike their course and ways, to be generally the most religious and sober people in the Land, (but I think Mr. B. spake in jest, when he adds) excepting always the King and Parliament.* And p. 167, 168. *That before the Prelates had again ruled seven years, there were seven and seven against them, for one that was so before: Which is a notorious falshood, there being a general Conformity until a Toleration was granted.* And p. 161. he proclaims thus: *I am one of the Eighteen hundred that have been silenced by better Authority than the Prelates alone; yet I think I am bound in conscience to exercise the Ministry which I received, whatever I suffer: and if the Sword straitned me no more than my Conscience of the Bishops prohibition, I should be very little hindred; for that (saith he) is vanished into Air, p. 163. And so it seems (is the power of the Sword too with him: for that he means by better Authority, the Laws*

established by King and Parliament. And yet this man had taught other Doctrine: for p. 30. of his first Plea, Princes and Rulers may forbid all that preach Rebellion and Sedition, and punish them if they do it; and may hinder the incorrigible, whose preaching will do more hurt than good, from exercising the Ministry in their Dominions. P. 32. They should see that their Kingdoms be well provided of publick Preachers and Catechists, and may by due means compel the ignorant to hear and learn what Christianity is. Sect. 36. They may, when a peoples ignorance, faction, or wilfulness make them refuse all that are truly fit for them, urge them to accept the best, and may possess such of the publick Temples and Maintenance, and make it the peoples duty to consent, as is aforesaid. (No great need then of the peoples consent, which Mr. B. so much contends for.) Sect. 37. They ought to hinder Preachers from uncharitable and unrighteous railing at each other, and unpeaceable controversies and contentions. And p. 35. sect. 40. They may make their own Officers circa Sacra to execute their Magistratical power; and if they authorize any particular Bishops or Pastors to exercise any such power as belongs to the Prince to give, not contrary to Christs Laws, &c. we judge that the Subjects should obey all such even for Conscience sake. P. 117. We deny not (saith he) but if the generality of the Ministry obtain their liberty

liberty by some small tolerable sin or error, & the sounder part be few and unnecessary in that Country, prudence obligeth them to go to some other place that needeth them, and never to exercise their Ministry where in true Reason it is like to do more hurt than good. And of this he maketh the Magistrate Judge, p. 265. of his *Way of Concord*. Yet p. 244. of his *Plea*, he says, That though the execution of the Laws have cost some excellent men their lives already, we may know, that no execution short of death or utter disablement, will make the most conscionable forsake their duty. And p. 249. Why we should not speak openly rather than in secret; and what but a Spirit of envie or carnal interest, cross to the interest of Christ, should grudge at such preaching, we cannot tell. Nor can any one reconcile these Contradictions.

One thing I shall observe from this Church-Historian, mentioned in the Preface, That when Philip Neri set up his Oratorian Exercises at Rome, it was found necessary (to win the people) to use large, affectionate, extemporate Prayers, Expositions, and Sermons. Yet when Dr. Stillingfleet says, This practice was brought into England by the Jesuits, to bring the Liturgie into Contempt, in the Preface to his *History of Separation*; Mr. B. replies, p. 12. That this is a sad saying, and that there is no probability that the Jesuits should be the first setters up of this way in Eng-

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England, (though the Doctor gave two instances of it in matter of fact). And says in the Preface to his *Second Defence*, That the Doctor's book is made up of three parts: 1. Of untrue Accusations: 2. Untrue historical Citations abundance: 3. Fallacious Reasonings. As if there were not one true word in the whole book: though even this imitating of *Philip Nerius* in extemporary Exercises and separate Meetings, is by Mr. B. himself parallel'd with ours as the Original and Copy, p. 22. of Preface to Mr. B.'s *Now or Never; The Meetings of the Oratorians and their Exercises*, are so like those now abhorred by many, &c. Then comes forth his first and second Plea for Peace. Of the first, Dr. Still says, It seems to be designed on purpose to represent the Clergie of our Church as a company of notorious lying perjured Villains, for conforming to the Laws of the Land, and Orders established, with no less than thirty Aggravations of the sin of Conformity. And Mr. B. in his Answer seems to justify it: And with a great deal of vain-glory, in the latter end of that book printeth a comiplemental Letter sent him from Mr. *Glanvil* in 1661. to shew how he loves the applause of men; which rather than he would want, he blows a Trumpet himself in another book called the *Only way to Concord*, saying in the Preface to Bishop Morly and Bishop Gunning, I am fully perswaded that



that in this book I have told you a righter way of Christian Concord; more divine, sure, harmless, and comprehensive, fitted by Christ himself to the interest of all good men, yea of the Church and all the World. He speaks as if he had gotten an infallible Spirit, and had not onely the Presbyter, but the Pope in his belly. Whereas that way of Concord will rather prove a means of perpetuating Discord and Divisions in the Church. In that book he calls the Bishops *Thorns and Thistles, the Military Instruments of the Devil*, and accounts them to be *mad Dogs*; applying a Welch Proverb to them, *Though thy Dog be thy own, trust him not when he is mad*; in the *Premonition*. He rails at the Laws in a Verse of Ovid: *Id quod natura remittit, Invidè Jura negant*. (After the Contents.)

Dr. Still propounded several Concessions to be made for the ease of the Dissenters, viz. The use of the Cross, the Surplice, kneeling at the Sacrament, &c. (in the close of his Preface;) which Mr. B. rejects, saying, *That the benefit would redound sibi & suis, (i. e. to the Doctor and his Party) not reaching our necessities, but much better than nothing*, p. 21. of his second Defence. Nothing will satisfie him, but the altering the Species of Episcopacy, changing the Liturgy for a Directory, and repealing such Acts of Parliament as were made to secure

secure the Peace of the Nation against such seditious persons and practices as had once destroyed it. And p. 84. of his *third Defence*, part 2. Mr. B. threatneth another destruction to it: for comparing the constitution of our Church to a separating Wall, or dividing thorny Hedge, he professeth, *That he* (An. 1660.) *once made it the most earnest action of his life, to prevent the building of this Wall or Hedge;* And adds, *I will do the best I can while I live to pull it down.* And I believe him: for then he hopes he shall be set up not as a Parochial Bishop, but an Archbishop, succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary Office of Government; or at least as an Officer of the King. And I have heard of a Proposal, that Dr. O. and Mr. B. may be two of the first Archbishops. P. 56. of the last part of that book, he says, *That which hath been the chief cause and engine of Division, will never become the means or terms of Concord; but such are the multitude of unnecessary, uncertain, humane Decrees, Laws, and Canons of Faith and Religion, whatever the proud and ignorant say to the contrary.* (Yet Solomon said, *In the multitude of Counsellors there is safety.*) P. 59. In a word (saith he) *Councils of Bishops have been but Church Armies, of which at first the Patriarchs were Generals, and afterward Popes and Emperours, who fought it out for victory.* And p. 71, 72. he  
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condemns the *Lutheran* and *Calvinist*, the *Erastians* and *Behemists*, as well as the *Diocesan* ways of Concord: And adds, *What the Independent have done towards Division and Separation, it is in vain in this Age to recite; and many wise men think that the Presbyterians over-violent rejecting of all Episcopacy, setting up unordained Elders, and National Churches, as headed by National Assemblies, are divisive and unwarrantable, as their making by the Scotch Covenant the renouncing of the Prelacy to be the Test of National Concord also was.* What remains then? Nothing but Mr. B.'s Model is the *Onely, Onely, Onely* way of Concord: *More sure, divine, appointed by Christ himself, &c.* But where any person should find that Rule of which Mr. B. speaks so confusedly himself, is the great Question; for thus he concludes that book: 1. *Approving the best:* 2. *Tolerating the tolerable:* 3. *Sacraments free, and not forced:* 4. *The intolerable restrained, the Test of toleration being this:* 5. *Whether such tolerated Worship do more good or hurt:* 6. *Magistrates keeping all in peace, would heal us.* But alas, *Magistrates, Laws, and Power, are resisted:* Every Faction count themselves more tolerable than others, yea condemn others as intolerable, and judge of men and things as best, by their agreeing with their own persuasions; and so the *Onely* way of Concord will leave us still in  
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*Confusion.* Yet Mr. B. fearing the book would fall into the hands of bad Neighbours, he sends it forth with the highest commendations. In the Preface to his *second Defence*, I value it (saith he) *above all the rest, being assured that the Churches will never otherwise be healed, than by that impartial, sure, and easie Catholick way, which some have reviled, but none since that I know of confuted; nor need they: for it so confutes it self, that there needs no other confutation but the reading of it.* Here it is that he calls the Clergy *Tyrants*, p. 37. *Thorns and Thistles, grievous Wolves, and the Military Instruments of the Devil.* P. 123. *Under the name of Bishops, they are Troublers, Persecutors, and Destroyers.* P. 47. Here he says, *That to tell them as Mr. Dodwel doth, that no unlawful thing is imposed, will as much satisfie them, as if he had said that lying, perjury, and deliberately covenanting against Gods Précepts, and for corrupting his sacred Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, are lawful things.* P. 9. of his last part, *He accounts all Bishops and Pastors that have not the consent of the people, to be Usurpers.* And infers, p. 10. *If the Temple or Tythes be given to a Priest or Bishop not lawfully called or consented to by the Flock, and another be lawfully called (i.e. by the people) whom the Magistrate casteth out of the Temple and Tythes, it is the peoples duty to ad-*  
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here to him that is justly called; it is not always a duty to adhere to him whom the Magistrate imposeth: the Churches met against the will of the Magistrates above three hundred years. As if our Magistrates were heathen persecutors: for Christian Magistrates (he says, p. 143.) must keep peace among all, both approved and tolerated, and not suffer any unpeaceable Preaching or Disputes which tend to destroy Love and Quietness, nor suffer railing Calumnies against each other to be published or printed. Now whether Mr. B.'s way be the Only way of Concord, or needs any other confutation, let the Reader judge.

And such as the way of Concord, such are the Pleas for Peace, (i.e.) Pleas for Schism and Division, and such Trumpets as give no uncertain sound to a War. For he proclaims the terms for Uniformity to be to them morally impossible, and is grieved that he must set forth an unarmed Defence. He tells the people of many hainous sins in their Conformity, though he had formerly encouraged it, and conformed himself as a Lay-man. But now God-fathers and Godmothers, the Signe of the Cross, and kneeling at Sacrament, reading the Apocrypha, the Office of Burial, all are offered to the people as sinful; or they are encouraged to think them so: for Mr. B. thinks it a sin in Magistrates to punish them for their Nonconformity.

formity. But the great quarrel is against the Laws for *Subscription* and *renouncing the Covenant*, &c. of which he speaks dreadful things; calls them the *tearing Engines of the Law*; represents the Magistrates as *Persecutors*, and the Clergy as a *company of notorious, lying, and perjured Villains*. And tells the Magistrates (in the Epistle, for they were the Legislators) *It is now seventeen years since near two thousand Ministers of Christ were by Law forbidden the exercise of their Office, unless they did conform to Subscriptions, Covenants, Declarations, and Practices; which we durst not do, because we feared God.* (As if the Magistrates had no fear of God.) *The reason of which Impositions, it is God, and not we, must have an account of from the Convocation, &c.* By which &c. he must mean the Law-makers. He says, *He had read the books written for Conformity, and thinks Mr. Tombs had written more for Anabaptistry, a late Hungarian for Polygamy, many for Drunkenness, Stealing and Lying in case of necessity, than they for the terms of Conformity, as the Conformists describe them.*

His second Plea is to the same tune: *It was published (saith he in the Title-page) to save our lives and the Kingdoms peace from the false and bloody Plotters, who would perswade the King and People that the Nonconformists are Presbyterians and Fanaticks: And next, that*  
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*it was such Presbyterians that killed his Father : That our Principles are rebellious, &c. and in the Preface makes this challenge ; I desire those that seek our blood and ruine, to tell me, if they can, what Body or Party of men on earth have more sound and loyal Principles of Government and Obedience. He says indeed, p. 109. We are far from designing any abasement of the Clergie ; nor do we deny or draw others to deny any due reverence to them ; yet he calls the Bishops Popish Clergie-men, Thorns and Thistles, and the military Instruments of the Devil ; and complains of tearing Engines, Goals, starving, and bloody persecution, ruine, and death.*

The very reading of such things are to an ingenuous person a sufficient confutation of his Books, which, being so many, ( for he tells us *he hath written Eighty Books*, and many of them in the Plural Number, by a consult it seems with the Brotherhood ) I am fearful to meddle farther with, lest I should provoke the Legion (as some Learned men already have) to rent and tear them in pieces. Such a Character as I have begun, if it were drawn by some person that hath known the man and his communication from the beginning of our Wars ( for I have discovered no more than what he was pleased to tell the world in his Writings ) would be more effectual to silence and shame him, than all the Laws of

the Land, or all the Arguments of his learned Adversaries, how cogent soever: for he is resolved as long as he lives to have the last word, and to answer all that shall be said against him with down-right railing Exclamations to the People, sophistical Evasions, and rather than fail, with plain Self-contradictions. And of late days his wont is to confute his Adversaries as a young Scholar did *Bellarmino* in one word, *Mentiris*. But if *contradictio sit oppositionum Maxima*, (as Mr. B. grants) there is not a more common lyar than he, who hath beyond any other so frequently and flatly contradicted himself (for of contradictory Propositions, if the one be true, the other is false, *i. e.* a lye.) And this being another fit medium to confute many of his Writings, I may, if occasion serve, make up one Volume more of Mr. B.'s Works, such, as though he be able to split a Hair, he shall never be able to reconcile. Mr. R. *L'Estrange* hath given an Essay how far *Richard* differs from B. So did the *Reflector* on his *Sacrilegious Desertion*; and though but in a few particulars, yet it put him to a nonplus, and set him a whining, saying, *I can reconcile my own words, though he cannot: And all is not contradiction which men that understand not words think so*, p. 148. of his *Third Defence*. And p. 151. *I never taught Mr. L'Estrange to under-*



understand my writings; but I can reconcile more than he can: as if they understood not the difference between a Negative and Affirmative Proposition. So that considering with what contumely, instead of argument, he hath answered Dr. *Stillington*, I think no discreet man will trouble himself to answer his impertinences. The *Impleader* of his *first and second Plea*, answered all that was considerable in those Books, and reflected on his Book of *Concord* and *Prognostication*; who returns scarce any thing but a *Mentiris*, even sometimes when the *Impleader* repeated Mr. B.'s own words. The *Impleader* answered that bold Challenge of Mr. B. in his *Second Plea*, to shew what party of men were of more sound Judgement than the Nonconformists in point of obedience, p. 72. shews who were *Presbyterians*, who began the War, who killed the *Royal Martyr*: on what rebellious Principles they went, and who are plotting a Rebellion: of what dangerous consequence his immoral Prognostication is like to be. Which things Mr. B. takes notice of in his *Third Defence*, but in all haste seeks to evade them, and complains, p. 146. of his *Third Defence*, that the *Impleader* rakes up the actions of the evil Civil War, as if that were any thing to the present Cause; that he heaps up abundance of untruths: that he had fully confuted them before; and

then takes up an exclamation, *O miserable world! where the very Preachers of holiness, love, and Peace, go on to the Grave and Judgement, and Eternity, fighting against Holiness, Love, and Peace.* And whether Mr. B. be one of that number, let the Reader Judge.

If any shall demand to what purpose I have collected all this? I should not have presumed to give such an Answer as Mr. B. hath prompted, p. 151. of his *Third Defence, To shew whether I be not a giddy, mutable, self-contradicting Fool and Knave.* I should onely have inferred, that notwithstanding all his pretences to Piety and Peace, he may probably have some evil designs against both; for the things related are mostly matters of Fact, recorded by his own hand; and therefore I hope his seduced followers will consider to what manner of Guide they have committed the conduct of their Souls; and what probability there is of gathering *Grapes* from such *Thorns*. And because *by the mouth of two or three Witnesses every thing is established*, I shall conclude with the Testimony of two or three credible persons of his own Fraternity: The first is Mr. *Herle*, a noted Presbyterian, who, as Mr. *Bagshaw* reports, said of Mr. B. *That it had been happy for the Church of God if Mr. B.'s friends had never sent him to School.* The second is Mr. *Cawdry*,

dry, who was of the same Opinion. And he mentions a Third person, as knowing in the mystery of Godliness as either of them; who said, *That notwithstanding the great noise raised about Mr. B. he would end in flesh and blood.* But these Testimonies are nothing to that whereby the Great Judge, before whom he hath so often summoned others, will sentence him *ex ore suo*.

If any think Mr. B. is too severely handled, let him consider it is by a Rod of his own making, though it be smartly applied; and that though he be a thousand times more obnoxious than the worst of those Bishops whom he so calumniates, yet hath he spoken maliciously and falsely of them; which the Collector hath not done by him. The best is, the words of such a scandalous person will not be taken as a blot. And I desire my conforming Brethren not to be troubled at the Railings or Reproaches of this Zealot; and that they would forbear troubling him, who, as he saith, *hath been a dying man almost these forty years.* And though I never spake nor thought half so ill of him, as he hath recorded of himself; yet I shall charitably hope and pray, that if he live to see himself in this his own Glass, he will yet at last repent of those sins which he cannot but condemn as very heinous and dangerous in the sight of God

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God and man. I shall be so charitable as to propose a method to ease him from one great fear. Mr. B. seems much troubled to think that his Adversaries may have the last word of him. Now I perceive that Mr.

Preface to  
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fence.

*Hicringle* by opposing Dr. *Stillingfleet*, hath ingratiated himself with Mr. B. of whom he doth not come much short in confident boasting of himself. It is a difficult matter to infuse to him the art of Defining and Distinguishing, by which Mr. B. is able to evade any Argument: But this defect may be supplied, if Mr. B. bequeath him his Eighty Books, and enjoyn him especially to study his *Arguments for Separation*, and the *heinous sins of Conformity*, which he shall finde often repeated, and to apply them on all occasions. But let him not do as in his *Naked Truth*, conceal the name of his Benefactor, but quote him *totidem verbis*; and so Mr. B. may have the last word as long as the Faction continueth. But if this fear be thus removed, I question whether a greater will not follow (*viz.*) of being like *Jeroboam*, who having set up Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel* in opposition to the established Worship, is recorded to have *made Israel to sin*, not in his life-time onely, but long after his death: and how dreadful the final Sentence of such a one may be, I commend

commend to Mr. B.'s most serious Meditations. But if Mr. B. who so solemnly cites others to Judgement, continueth to go on impenitently to that dreadful day; I shall yet pray for him as he doth for the Conformists, *Lord have mercy on him.* And because I doubt not but his Friends and Disciples will raise a Monument to perpetuate the Memory of their Master, I shall commend this Characteristical Epitaph.

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Hic

**Hic jacet RICHARDUS BAXTER,**  
**Theologus Armatus,**  
**Loiolita Reformatus,**  
**Hæresiarcha Arianus,**  
**Schismaticorum Antifignanus:**  
**Cujus pruritus disputandi peperit,**  
**Scriptitandi Cacoethes nutrit,**  
**Prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit**  
**ECCLESIAE SCABIEM.**

**Qui dissentit ab iis quibuscum consentit maximè:**

**Tum sibi cum aliis Nonconformis:**

**Præteritis, præsentibus, & futuris:**

**Regum & Episcoporum Juratus Hostis:**

**Ipsūmq; Rebellium Solenne fœdus.**

**Qui natus erat per Septuaginta Annos,**

**Et Octoginta Libros.**

**Ad perturbandas Regni Respublicas,**

**Et ad bis perdendam Ecclesiam Anglicanam**

**Magnis tamen excidit ausis.**

**Deo Gratias.**

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